

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BW/SAB/DF

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE: 2/28/67

FROM : S. J. Papich

- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS

For your information,

Referral/Consult

ACTION:

SJP:rab

REC- 62

MAR 13 1967

SECRET

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Wick	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

#54,386  
Classified by SP8 BJA/KAC  
Declassify on: OADR

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Staff Writers to Speak During Ramparts Week

Ramparts Week, sponsored by the UB Chapter of the National Student Association and by the Graduate Student Association, will feature four speakers from Ramparts magazine April 3, 4, and 5 in the Millard Fillmore Room.

Ramparts Managing Editor Robert Scheer will discuss "Ramparts, Gadfly to the Establishment," April 3 at 8:30 p.m.

Two lectures will be presented April 4 at 8 p.m. Sol Stern, author of the NSA-CIA article which appeared recently in Ramparts, will speak on "The CIA,

The Cold War, and American Democratic Institutions." Former FBI agent William Turner will discuss "The FBI and Threats to the Right of Individual Privacy."

April 5 at 8:30 p.m., William Pepper, author of the "Children of Vietnam" article in the January issue of Ramparts, will speak on "The Children of Vietnam: the American Responsibility and American Humanity."

Biographical sketches of the speakers may be found in the centerfold of this issue of the Spectrum.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1

THE SPECTRUM  
State University of  
New York at Buffalo,  
N.Y.

Date: 3/31/67  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor:  
Title: William Turner

Character:

or

Classification: 67-

Submitting Office:

Buffalo

☐ Being Investigated100 - 445393 -  
ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE 67-455829-535

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

At UB Symposium

# 'Kooks' Called

## Hope of Nation

The hope of the nation lies in the "kooks" and dissenters on campuses such as the University of Buffalo, a student audience at UB was told Tuesday night.

The "fraud" of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has shown an "incredible lack of responsibility" on the part of U.S. citizens, and public and private organizations, said Sol Stern, assistant managing editor of the controversial "Ramparts" magazine.

He spoke before about 400 persons at a symposium in Norton Union. The session was part of a three-night program that will conclude tonight.

A second speaker, former FBI agent William Turner,

described the "proliferating" use by police of super-sophisticated wire taps and snooping devices.

As a writer for "Ramparts," Stern exposed CIA links with private student organizations and touched off a scandal involving the federal agency.

Later, it was disclosed that CIA money was being channeled to a wide range of groups, Stern said, all aimed at "maintaining the nation's position in the world."

He said the U.S. is paying "an enormous price" for the CIA's activities because it has destroyed the world's belief in the purity of private American organizations.

"Who can believe anything

one is told in this country?" asked Stern. He said the CIA is "the closest thing we have to a totalitarian police organization."

The blame is not only the CIA's, said Stern. "It was doing what it did because American foreign policy required it."

The final responsibility lies with the nation's "liberal establishment," which allowed it to happen, he said.

Turner, who is a Buffalo native and a graduate of Canisius College, said the FBI's use of "bugging" tactics started during World War II, "and it never kicked the habit."

In many cases, he said the FBI violates the Communications Act of 1934, and state and local regulations by using bugs.

The snooping is done, he said, in the name of "national security," and the definition of national security is "anything you say it is."

He told the audience that "you've got to kick the (bugging) habit for them" by keeping opposition to it alive, and by refusing to allow prying.

"Unless you get on this and kick it," said Turner, "we've all got to be 100 per cent American apple pie eaters."

The program will conclude at 8:30 tonight with a talk by William F. Pepper, a contributing writer to the magazine. The symposium is being sponsored by the Graduate Student Assn., and the UB chapter of the National Student Assn.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

41

BUFFALO COURIER  
EXPRESS  
BUFFALO, N.Y.

4/5/67

Four Star

Date:

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title: William Turner

Character:

or

Classification: 67-

Submitting Office: Buffalo

☐ Being Investigated

ENCLOSURE

100-445393-

ENCLOSURE

67-455829-535

FBI

Date: 4/5/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AMSD  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ATTN: ADMINISTRATIVE DIV.  
FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (67-369-A P & C)

INFORMATION CONCERNING

Remytel 4/5/67.

Enclosed herewith for the further information of the Bureau, relative to the activities of [redacted] at the University of Buffalo, are pertinent newspaper clippings from the University of Buffalo student newspaper the "Spectrum," of 3/31/67, and also an article appearing in the "Buffalo Courier Express" of 4/5/67.

- ③ - Bureau (Encs. 3)
- 1 - Buffalo
- NJW:MKC
- (4)

NOT RECORDED

141 APR 21 1967

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

67-455849-535  
Searched \_\_\_\_\_  
143 APR 17 1967 148

REC-134

CLASSIFY IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 1/1/80 BY [signature]

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b6  
b7C



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO The Director  
FROM N. P. Callahan

DATE

3-1-67

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

Memorandum to the Director  
Re: The Congressional Record

## APPENDIX - continued

Pages A1072-A1073. Congressman Mauler, (D) New York, pointed out that one of the most vocal critics of the CIA has been one of the editors of Ramparts magazine. He advised that a column from the February 14th edition of the New York World Journal Tribune suggests some interesting questions. The item is entitled "Carl T. Rowan--CIA Critic's Mission to Prague." It states: "A few days ago a brief, cryptic report out of Prague, Czechoslovakia, was passed among a handful of top officials in Washington. It said that an editor of Ramparts magazine had come to Prague and held 'a long, secret session' with officers of the Communist-controlled International Union of Students. . . . I learned that the Prague visitor was supposed to be Robert Scheer, Ramparts' managing editor."

RE 64

100-445393-32

103

NO. RECORDED  
1967 16 1967ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11/1/80 BY [signature]

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 3/1/67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

66-1731  
3  
J  
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~~SECRET~~

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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

- 1 - Name Check
- 1 - C. F. Brown

REACCU.

DATE OF

ROBERT MC AFEE BROWN

7/1/80  
March 15, 1967

CLASS

REASON

DATE OF REV

Referral/Consult

By letter dated May 26, 1954, a minister mailed to this office an article from the May, 1954, issue of "Union (T.) Seminary Quarterly Review," (3041 Broadway, New York City), captioned "Creation, Faith and McCarthyism" by Robert M. Brown. This article criticized former Senator Joseph McCarthy. The article identified Brown as Auburn Assistant Professor of Systematic Theology and Philosophy of Religion in the Seminary.

Reverend Robert McAfee Brown participated as one of 18 ministers accompanying freedom riders testing integration of public facilities throughout the South in 1961.

On October 24, 1963, a confidential informant who has provided reliable information in the past provided a partial list of sponsors for the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. Included on this list was Professor Robert McAfee Brown, Stanford, California, Professor of Religion, Stanford University. (62-5-24936) *8u*

On January 20, 1967, a demonstration was held in Seattle, Washington, protesting United States intervention in Vietnam. Leaflets were left on the seats in the auditorium where the demonstration was held and one of these leaflets, captioned "Viet-Nam: The Clergyman's Dilemma," listed Dr. Robert McAfee Brown, Professor, Stanford University, as one of the protesters. (105-138315-4979) *100 445 393 34*

On January 31, 1967, a meeting was held in the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., sponsored by clergymen and laymen concerned about Vietnam. The program was announced as "A Service of Witness in Time of War." Dr. Robert McAfee Brown gave a prayer in which he asked "Where is God found?" "Is He found in the halls of Congress, or in the State Department where they decide who will live and who will die in Vietnam?" He stated that as a nation, the United States cannot presume it is righteous just because it is opposing an ideology (communism). (105-138315-5048) *REC 100 445 393 34*

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NOTE: Classified "Secret" inasmuch as incoming so classified.

CFB:CIO

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DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

- 1 - Name Check
- 1 - L. M. Gaskill

March 18, 1967

7/17/80  
CLASS. & EXT.  
REASON-FC  
DATE OF REVIEW

GORDON C. ZAHN

UNCLASSIFIED

Referral/Consult

Review of Bureau files reveals that during 1941 one Gordon Charles Zahn, who resided in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, claimed to be a conscientious objector who wished to be exempted from military service. Zahn advised he was a pacifist and stated the belief that an individual had no right to take the life of or assist in taking the life of another individual.

(25-83409-2)

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised during August, 1963, that the American citizen, Professor Gordon Zahn, 501 East 32nd Street, Chicago, Illinois, was a member of the Pax Vobis Workers Circle of German Catholics. According to the source this organization had been recently established in the German Federal Republic by pro-communist forces.

(105-0-10738)

The November 23, 1965, issue of "The New York Times," a New York City daily newspaper, contained an advertisement entitled "March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam" with the subtitle "A Call to Mobilize the Conscience of America."

One of the sponsors for the march was listed as Prof. Gordon C. Zahn, Professor of Sociology, Loyola University.

"The Worker," an east coast communist newspaper, its issue of December 15, 1965, on page 4, contains a photographic reproduction of the above advertisement appearing in the New York Times.

(100-444664-312)

On September 5, 1963, a source who has furnished the information in the past furnished material which

NOTE: Classified "~~Secret~~"  
inasmuch as incoming so  
classified.

MAR 17 1967

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~~SECRET~~ SEE REVERSE FOR  
ADD. DISSEM. INSTRUCTIONS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr.

DATE 3/3/67

FROM S. J. Papich

SUBJECT RAMPARTS

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Referral/Consult

- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

SJP:rab  
(5)

EX-114

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REC 26

CLASS. & EXT BY SP-1/SK/h  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 3/3/67

MAR 20 1967

59 APR 2 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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1 - Name [redacted]eck  
1 - C. F. Brown

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OTHERWISE  
FRED KRINSKY

March 17, 1967

~~SECRET~~

AKC  
Encl

RECEIVED  
NATIONAL SECURITY  
ADMINISTRATIVE  
DIVISION  
MAY 1 1967



Referral/Consult

The newspaper, "Post Standard," Syracuse, New York, in an article dated December 4, 1952, set out that one Dr. Fred Krinsky was connected with the Maxwell School of Citizenship at Syracuse University as an assistant professor of citizenship. The article further identified him as having received a bachelor of arts degree from Brooklyn college and a doctor of philosophy in political science from the University of Pennsylvania. (65-58190-137)

The "Elmira Star-Gazette," a local Elmira, New York, newspaper, on April 28, 1960, carried an article captioned "Panel at College to Examine Peace from Three Viewpoints." This article in part stated that three points of view on peace would be presented in a panel discussion open to the public on May 3, 1960, to be sponsored by Elmira College and the American Friends Service Committee in the College auditorium. Those listed to take part were Nicolai Bourrov, First Secretary of the USSR Delegation to the United Nations; Dr. Fred Krinsky, Associate Professor of Citizenship at the Maxwell School of Citizenship; and Dr. Harrop Freeman, Professor of Law at Cornell University, with James Nyphers of the American Friends Service Committee to act as moderator. The "Elmira Star-Gazette" again on May 6, 1960,

~~SECRET~~



EG-71 100-443393-27  
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.  
See note, page 2, 5/1/67  
REASON FOR M 11, 1-2-41  
DATE OF REVIEW 3/1/67

59 MAY 4 1967  
59 APR 26 1967

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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Fred Krinsky

published an article captioned "Arms Race Leads to Disaster,  
Three Speakers at College Agree." This was a follow-up article  
on the above discussion. (105-65634-137)

NOTE:

Referral/Consult

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~~-2-~~

REC- 62 100-44-393 - 7

March 21, 1967

ARTHUR A. COHEN  
Editorial Board,  
Hamparts Magazine

The following information is available concerning one Arthur A. Cohen who may be identical with the subject of your inquiry.

It is to be noted that "Who's Who" lists Arthur Allen Cohen as born June 25, 1928, at New York City, having received a BA and MA Degree from the University of Chicago, and a Fellowship, Jewish Philosophy, Jewish Theological Seminary, 1951-1953. He is listed as Director of Religious Publication, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.

On October 1, 1961, WTTG - TV (Channel 5), Washington, D. C., presented a two-hour panel discussion entitled "Open End." Arthur A. Cohen, vice president of Meridian Books and a consultant for the Fund for the Republic appeared on this program. Cohen was one of three participants who generally attacked the House Committee on Un-American Activities and any actions against communists. (105-92048-9)

Original and 1 - CIA

Request received - March 16, 1967

WFW:mkw  
(4)

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59 MAR 20 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 4/12/67

FROM : D. J. Brennan, Jr. *DJB*

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tolson	
DeLoach	
Casper	
Callahan	
Conrad	
Felt	
Gale	
Rosen	
Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tavel	
Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Holmes	
Gandy	

*W.C. Sullivan*

Referral/Consult

The attached page from the magazine is made up of filthy and degenerate language and, in particular, makes an extremely vicious remark about the mother of President Johnson.

## ACTION:

For information.

Enc.

WOC:jad  
(7) *jad*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - W. O. Cregar

*7/6/80*  
CLASS. & EXT. BY *SP1/MSK/luc*  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW *4/12/87*

REC 12 100-445393-39

APR 18 1967

ENCLOSURE

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

59 APR 24 1967 314

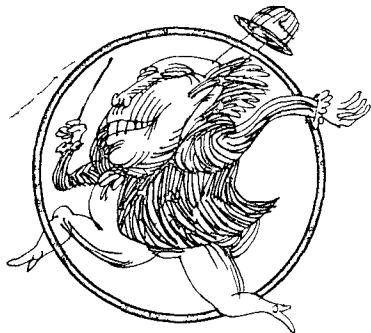


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DATE 7/17/80 BY Yuc

100-4115395-391

ENCLOSURE

## Society:



### LOVE AND HATE

by Paul Kressner

WHILE MOST elevator operators must remain content with asking what floor you want, the balding man who runs the lift in a building which houses the Janis Gallery has been given a special assignment of screening his passengers by age. You can get drafted at 18 but in order to view this particular collection of erotic art, you have to be 21.

Just in case the elevator operator occasionally fails in carrying out his mission, there's a Pop Pinkerton Guard upstairs, standing a few feet away from a photostat-poster containing an ancient description of incest (i.e. *The Holy Bible*, Book of Genesis Chapter 20, Verses 30-36).

Actually, the Great Erotic Artist in the Sky and his colleagues were in no danger of being arrested, inasmuch as a private showing had already been approved by the Police Preview Board before the exhibit officially opened.

Larry Rivers contributed a sculpture *cum* portrait that was obviously a put-in a mechanic-ish three-dimensional, nine-foot-tall Negro male, for whom electric light bulbs serve as hands and genitals, indulges in perpetual anal intercourse with a patient two-dimensional recipient of apparently neuter gender and race, boasting buttocks of red plastic.

This anti-creche was christened "Lamp Man Loves It" by Terry Southern, whose previous collaboration with Rivers was a comic strip called *The Adventures of the Vomiting Priest* that never quite came to pass.

Lamp Man's penis *per se* flashes on and off in a continuing dramatic display of alternating current and unnatural rhythm. There had been a

report that the bulb was turned off, the Janis brothers claim that any who wishes to may turn it on. However, the bulb was out of order. Why wouldn't they replace it? They had called Larry Rivers three times during the last three days to come over and fix it himself.

A rare pleasure, to see gallery owners display such respect for an artist's integrity.

AT THE Village Theatre, LeRoi Jones was the star of *An Evening With Pure Hate*. A telephone call had threatened that 50 Ku Klux Klanners were going to cross the New Jersey border, but they never showed up.

A group of Negro children began the proceedings with an unintentional parody of a combination *bar mitzvah* speech—greeting friends, relatives and enemies—and a Christmas pageant.

To his credit, Jones poetry poked fun equally at white folks (Lyndon Johnson's mother committed fellatio on a nigger she picked up downtown, in 1928. I got proof) and colored folks (even the ones where the wigs slide).

But whereas sticks and stones will break a white man's bones (He owes you anything you want, even his life), names will never hurt a Negro (Roy Wilkins is an eternal faggot).

Here was Instant Erasure of all the good that had previously been accomplished in a movie featuring Ray Charles inspiring the white mother of a blind boy to go out and get him an operation, the message being something along the lines of 'One Man, One Eye'.

LeRoi Jones has a skillful voice and an impressive style in which to encase his definite intimations of anti-Semitism on the Left, a sort of convoluted converse to National Socialism on the Right. The Garden State KKK probably stayed away out of sheer confusion.

In the lobby of this former home of Yiddish melodrama, there was a table with cards for members of the audience to write questions on, but there was no question period.

Jones concluded with the reading of an as yet unproduced play he'd written, and the largely Negro audience loved it. Near the back of the orchestra, though, a young white couple reduced the entire performance to stereotypical absurdity by petting to anti-climax.

Simultaneously, at the Janis Gamp Man's light suddenly—mag—went on again. There had been a porary black power failure.

## Cinema:



### IS HAPPINESS LE BONHEUR?"

by Jonathan Middlebrook

'LL BONHFUR' is a movie about a provincial French couple, a provincial French mistress and the husband's attempts to find and express a natural happiness which can include all three of them. The movie was made (written and directed) by Agnes Varda, a fact which has limited most reviewers' responses to fatuous surprise. 'Only a woman could talk so frankly of love,' etc. But Varda is tougher than her reviewers, and her movie at once criticizes and extends the vision of cinema 66.

Cinema 66 sees a world in a commercial art flash: chrome yellow, blue, even the Citroen gray of the *deux chevaux* is transmogrified by precise camera work into pop artifact. Varda doesn't make her stars clothes horses for Givenchy—exit at last Audrey Hepburn's posturings—but she resolutely seeks out fashion color on the objects that 1966 gives the little people to use in their daily round of creative toil. Varda sees trucks, coveralls, cafe-awnings, formica, and advertisements everywhere. And everything is clean. Unbeknownst to themselves—they are reflective sorts—François (cabinet-worker), Therese (housewife), their children, and Emilie (mistress), live in an idyllic world. Varda has the bell-jar of her camera over their world, examining it to the tune of WA—as she familiarly knows him—Mozart. Under the glass, similarities of certain Impressionist painters are magnified, Varda

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE : April 17, 1967

FROM : R. E. Wick

SUBJECT :

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

DESIRE TO HAVE INTERVIEW WITH DIRECTOR  
OR OTHER BUREAU OFFICIAL FOR PROPOSED  
STORY ON COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA)

On the afternoon of 4/17/67 [redacted] in my office was telephonically contacted by [redacted] who stated he was a [redacted] Ramparts Magazine, San Francisco, California. He advised that Ramparts Magazine is doing a story on the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and he desired to have an interview with Mr. Hoover or some other official of the FBI for the purpose of getting a "briefing" on the CPUSA and also to determine the Bureau's views as to the nature of the threat presently posed by the CPUSA and whether it still acts on orders from Moscow.

Referral/Consult

## ACTION TAKEN

[redacted] was advised by [redacted] that neither Mr. Hoover nor any Bureau official would be available for interview by a representative of Ramparts Magazine with regard to the CPUSA. [redacted] became argumentative on being so advised, and expressed puzzlement that no one from the FBI would furnish him the requested "briefing" on the

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Miss Gandy
- 1 - Miss Holmes
- 1 - Mr. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Morrell

TEB:mls  
(8)

EX 109

REC 5 100-445393-40

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 7/17/80 BY [redacted]

CONTINUED - OVER

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: B. B. [unclear], R. [unclear], M. J. [unclear], S. [unclear], R. [unclear], G. [unclear], J. [unclear], S. [unclear], S. [unclear]]*

b6  
b7C

79 APR 26 1967

Wick to DeLoach memo  
RE: Ramparts Magazine

CPUSA or its following of orders from Moscow. He indicated he may still send some questions on this topic to Mr. Hoover via a letter.

RECOMMENDATION

If such a letter is received from  or any other representative of Ramparts Magazine, it is recommended that no cooperation whatsoever be afforded to them.

b6  
b7C

*Right Ramparts  
get nothing.*

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)  
DATE 02-09-2011

F B I

Date 4/17/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

~~SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, WFO (100-19456) (P\*)

(OO:WFO)

(S)

ReWFOairtel 4/17/67, captioned [REDACTED]

(S) Enclosed are five copies of an LHM, setting out  
information furnished by [REDACTED]

(S)

INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN WAS OBTAINED FROM A  
HIGHLY SENSITIVE SOURCE AND THE SECURITY OF THIS SOURCE MUST  
BE CONSIDERED IN ANY DISSEMINATION OF THIS MATERIAL.

b6

b7C

④ - Bureau (Enc. 7)

3 - WFO

(S) (1- [REDACTED])  
(1- [REDACTED])JWK:smm  
(7)1cc + 1 LHM + 1  
attach to LHM  
717c-94D

(S)

APR 21 1967

54 APR 28 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-357194-249

~~SECRET~~

(S) The sources in the LHM are identified as follows: ~~S~~

b1

1.

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3.

b7D

"No Foreign Dissem."

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-14-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.


NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~SECRET~~

April 17, 1967

"RAMPARTS MAGAZINE"

On April 13 and 14, 1967, a source, whose bona fides is unknown but who is in a position to furnish reliable information, advised the following: ~~S~~

(S)   
Ramparts is a magazine published monthly by Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, with main offices in New York, New York, and San Francisco, California. b1

(S)   
  
(S) 

7/7/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 YSK/hic  
REASON-FC 4,2 2,3  
DATE OF REVIEW 4/17/87

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

GROUP I  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

ENCLOSURE

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

100-445393  
ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

## RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

(U)

(S)

(S)

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

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~~SECRET~~

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DOWNGRADED TO SECRET  
60322 NCU/CB/RNHN  
9-26-05

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CLASS. & P SP1M.4K  
REASON-FC 4.2-2.3  
DATE OF REVIEW 4/7/87

100-445393

~~SECRET~~

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

4/10/67

1 - Mr. Wick  
1 - Mr. Ryan

Airtel

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To: SACs, New York (100-129802)  
San Francisco (100-42399)

From: Director, FBI (100-3-104-34)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
("RAMPARTS")

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

CLASS. & EXT. BY  
REASON FOR  
DATE OF REVIEW

Re New York and San Francisco tels 4/18/67.

Many staff members of "Ramparts" magazine have subversive backgrounds and there are indications its recent exposure of the Central Intelligence Agency's funding of the National Student Association was inspired by the Soviets as a disinformation operation. Therefore, it is not desired information discrediting the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), be furnished the publication anonymously or otherwise.

Any article relating to the CPUSA published by "Ramparts" is likely to be highly distorted to depict the Party in a favorable manner. New York and San Francisco should be alert to review the proposed article so any distortions or attacks on the FBI may be promptly repudiated through efforts of established news media sources. The Bureau should be advised of any developments and prior authority must be obtained before initiating any counter-intelligence action.

1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

DR. CLASS. & EXT. BY *[signature]*  
REASON FOR *[signature]*  
DATE OF REVIEW *4/19/87*

RECORDED  
APR 25 1967

NOTE: New York source, advised on 4/17/67, an unidentified female contacted CP headquarters and identified herself as connected with "Ramparts." She indicated *[redacted]* "Ramparts", was to be in New York during the week and a story was to be done by "Ramparts" on the CP. *[redacted]* has a subversive background and "Ramparts" magazine has been highly critical of the FBI in the past. We will not furnish any information to this publication anonymously or otherwise.

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: 4/10/67

FROM : SAC, San Francisco (67-15407)

SUBJECT:

Enclosed, herewith, for the Bureau's information is a copy of a story  which appears in the April, 1967, issue of Ramparts magazine.

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

2 Bureau (Encl.-1)  
1 SF  
COL:ekk  
(3)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/17/80 BY me

REC-150

455829-537

APR 25 1967

100-445393

NOT RECORDED

141 APR 22 1967

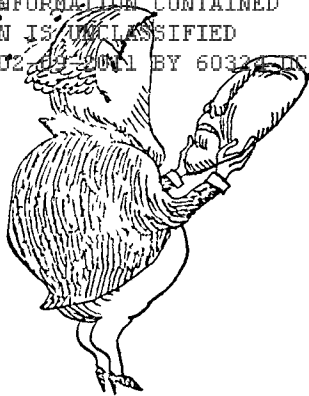
ENCLOSURE

56 MAY 11 1967

67-4538-537  
ORIGINAL FILED IN

## Opinion:

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DATE 02-23-2001 BY 60322 UC/BAW/SAB



### THE PLOT THICKENS

by William Turner

A PROPHET WITHOUT HONOR in New Orleans, District Attorney Jim Garrison is an ominous threat to the Warren Report establishment, which includes about every distinguished ear-bender and bureaucrat from Washington to Dallas. Ramsey Clark, the new attorney general, said Garrison was just treading on ground the FBI had already investigated and discounted. Most Warren Commission members expressed cautious doubts that he had anything, and Congressman Gerald Ford, whose book *Portrait of the Assassin*, concludes unequivocally that Oswald did it alone, demanded that Garrison turn over to the FBI whatever he did have. "What?" boomed Garrison, "and wait another three years?"

Except for some discreet checks here and there, the FBI has not re-opened its investigation, but is waiting and hoping Garrison falls flat on his face. Should it get involved in further inquiry and again come up with nothing, it reasons; it would again leave itself open to white-wash charges. Even more discomfiting to the prestige-conscious bureau is the prospect that Garrison does have a case—which would make the G-men look like the rankest of amateurs. Garrison has complained that he has received absolutely no cooperation from the FBI; it refused, for example, to make available the results of its investigation of the enigmatic David Ferrie immediately following the assassination.

This solid wall of antipathy and, at times, hostility, could in the end block Garrison from getting at the whole truth even though his New Orleans theory is

soundly structured. "We have no authority outside of Orleans Parish," explained a Garrison investigator—"and not only the FBI but the Dallas police and district attorney have refused to cooperate with us." The possibility that agencies are not only snubbing Garrison, but trying to learn his moves in order to checkmate them has occurred to his investigators.

"There goes that FBI voice relay," remarked one, picking up the phone and referring to the automatic devices to start tape recorders. "We have to assume everything is monitored."

That Garrison should buck a formidable segment of the establishment seems singularly inappropriate for a politician with further political aspirations. Skeptics say he is trying to make political hay out of his investigation, and is aiming beyond it at the governorship of Louisiana. But by the same token, if his case should fall flat, he would plunge into political oblivion. In truth, Garrison seems to possess rare courage: he has successfully bucked the powers-that-be before, and is supremely confident that he can do it again. The six and a half foot giant from Dennison, Iowa (his father stood close to seven feet) has exhibited an independent streak ever since graduating from Tulane Law School. He ran as an underdog independent for district attorney, blasting the corruptness of the incumbent administration. He reformed a parole system in which paroles could be bought, has collected more bail bond forfeitures from bondsmen than all of his predecessors, and has never lost a murder case. Once known as a Bourbon Street swinger, he aroused the ire of French Quarter inhabitants when he became D.A. by padlocking a number of girlie joints. Garrison's most celebrated bout was with the city's judges, whom he accused of taking overly extensive vacations and running too short sessions. The judges sued for defamation, but Garrison won out in the Supreme Court.

Garrison is obviously a tough, competent investigator, and it was the series of implausibilities in the Warren Report, such as the close spacing of the shots and the theory that one bullet penetrated both Kennedy and Connally, that first aroused his curiosity. Once into the 26 volumes, he discovered the incredible number of loose ends to the investigation. "Garrison doesn't believe there was an express conspiracy in government to

suppress the truth," says Louis Gurvich, who with his brother William, operates the largest detective agency in the South, "but he does believe there was a tacit understanding that to delve too deep might not be in the national interest." This was implicit, Gurvich points out, in the premature conclusion of J. Edgar Hoover, barely three weeks after the assassination, that Oswald and Ruby both acted independently.

The Gurvichs, quiet-spoken men in their mid-forties like Garrison, have been key confidants to Garrison and prime movers of his investigative task force. Louis, who once aspired to become a history professor, sees an analogy to the Dreyfus case in the government's initially superficial inquiry and its refusal to re-open the case.

Gurvich scoffs at Attorney General Clark's statement that David Ferrie and Clay Shaw, whom Garrison claims figured in the assassination scheme, were investigated and cleared by the FBI in 1963. "What do they mean by investigated?" he asks. "Shaw was a big man in this town—head of the International Trade Mart—and they may have asked him some questions in a deferential manner. But I doubt that they really interrogated him hard and kicked over every stone as they would have in the case of a less prestigious suspect." And both he and Garrison are convinced, says Gurvich, that the Commission's probe was fatally flawed by undue haste ("The FBI buzzed around here like every day was the last," he recalled) and the lack of someone with an overview to correlate the mass of reports and memoranda, most of them wholly irrelevant, that poured in from the FBI.

What is Garrison's theory? The D.A. and his men are wisely keeping their own counsel. When Ed Gutman, the former press secretary to Bobby Kennedy in the Department of Justice and now an editor of the Los Angeles Times, dropped into New Orleans on his way to New York, Garrison and Gurvich took him to lunch but didn't drop any facts. "He probably was sizing up our intelligence quotient for Bobby," said Gurvich. "Bobby's always been leery of the kooky critics." About all that is certain is that Garrison's suspects include Cubans as well as Americans.

When the Cuban angle first became evident, Garrison was besieged by right wingers and anti-Castroites who assumed

ENCLOSURE

April, 1967

100-445393

he had detected the hand of Castro in the affair. Now they have backed off, so it is palpable that he is on the spoils of anti-Castro fanatics. His sleuths have spent considerable time in Miami, another center of emigre activity. One theory attributed to Garrison is that Oswald was importuned by an anti-Castro faction to get a Cuban visa in Mexico City in order to assassinate Castro and, failing that, was turned on Kennedy, whose lack of overt action against Castro made him unpopular among the more volatile emigres. This theory necessarily renders Oswald a phony leftist, which is not a far-fetched idea.

The testimony of Mrs. Sylvia Odio that she was visited by two Latins and Oswald in Dallas in late September 1963, is apparently an integral part of Garrison's investigation. Mrs. Odio was a member of the Jure faction led by Manuel Ray; her parents have been imprisoned in Cuba since 1961, for contributing to Ray. The Odio family was aristocratic and wealthy, and Mrs. Odio suspects the purpose of the visit was to sound her out about funds. The next day, she said, one of the men, Leopoldo, telephoned her to mention that Oswald, an ex-Marine, had asserted that Kennedy should be killed for the way he had ignored the emigres. Mrs. Odio was unenthusiastic, and no further contact was made. The Warren Commission put little stock in her story, contending it was highly unlikely Oswald could have been in Dallas at the time. Yet she insisted that it was Oswald, and her sister, who was also present, concurred. Recently CBS Television interviewed her at San Juan, Puerto Rico, where she now lives. She still maintains the Warren Commission was wrong, and complains of being "harrassed and hounded" by the FBI.

Also, Garrison is said to have a photograph which shows several of the same Cubans with whom Oswald associated in New Orleans on the Kennedy motorcade route in Dallas. His investigators attempted to question a Cuban now living in Dallas, but the man refused without District Attorney Bill Alexander and Dallas police being present. And Garrison admittedly is strongly interested in Jack Ruby and his possible connection with Cuban gun-running. Nancy Perrin Rich told the Warren Commission that her late husband Jack Perrin had been offered \$10,000 by a group which included Ruby to run Enfield rifles into

Cuba for use by insurgents. Perrin died in New Orleans in 1962 of arsenic poisoning; the coroner decided the poison was voluntarily consumed. Ramparts has furnished Garrison information suggesting that a Ruby employee was in New Orleans recruiting people to come to Dallas prior to the assassination.

Garrison has not overlooked the possibility that Oswald was framed. "When he kept repeating, 'I'm just a patsy,'" says Louis Gurvich, "he may just have been right." The false Oswald theory has considerable substance. One angle Garrison is working on is that a look-alike for Oswald was seen with David Ferrie—at the time Oswald was in Minsk.

So Jim Garrison, who found the Warren Report an insult to his integrity, continues to play his lone hand. If he manages to rake in the chips, the Warren Report, intended as a national catharsis, will look more like the bordereau.

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PAGE 2

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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

APR 5 1967

TELETYPE

FBI-BUFFALO

11:11AM URGENT 4/5/67 AMM 1P

TO DIRECTOR

ATTN: ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

FROM BUFFALO (67-369-A P & C)

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holmes  
Miss Gandy

INFORMATION

CONCERNING.

FOR INFORMATION OF BUREAU, FOUR SPEAKERS FROM RAMPARTS MAGAZINE ARE APPEARING AS GUEST LECTURERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, BUFFALO, N.Y., APRIL THREE, FOUR AND FIVE INSTANT, IN A FORUM CALLED QUOTE "RAMPARTS WEEK" UNQUOTE, SPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL STUDENT ASSN AND THE GRADUATE STUDENT ASSN. ONE OF THE FOUR RAMPART SPEAKERS IS FORMER FBI AGENT WILLIAM W. TURNER, WHO REPORTEDLY WILL DISCUSS QUOTE THE FBI AND THREATS TO THE INDIVIDUAL RIGHT OF PRIVACY UNQUOTE.

ACCORDING TO BUFFALO COURIER EXPRESS ARTICLE APPEARING IN THIS MORNING'S PAPER, TURNER, ON EVENING OF APRIL FOUR LAST, BEFORE A STUDENT GROUP OF ABOUT FOUR HUNDRED, DISCUSSED CIA AND FBI WIRETAPPING ACTIVITIES. TURNER MADE ASSERTION THAT FBI VIOLATES THE LAW BY USE OF BUGS AND OTHER SNOOPING ACTIVITIES.

AIRTEL FOLLOWS WITH FURTHER DETAILS RELATIVE TO TURNER.

BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED OF ANY PERTINENT DEVELOPMENTS.

END

GJG

FBI WASH DC  
CC: MR. VICK

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

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DATE 7/7/80 BY [signature]

57 APR 28 1967

b6  
b7C

67-453829-534

ORIGINAL FILED IN

3 wcc

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : The Director

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT : The Congressional Record

DATE 4/13/67

Pages 11632-11633. Congressman Ashbrook, (R) Ohio, article concerning the magazine Ramparts and its associates and remarked "Could J. Edgar Hoover welcome them as applicants for the FBI? . . . Exclusive, the Washington newsletter published by Boston Lewis III has provided background information on the various people associated with Ramparts. According to the Exclusive source, the best interests of the United States does not appear to be one of their criteria for judgment. He included the articles dated March 20, 1967, and April 3, 1967, in the Record, which indicated that Ramparts' Editor-in-Chief Edward Michael Keating has been an outspoken critic of the

Federal Bureau of Investigation, frequently making baseless charges or allegations concerning the work of that Bureau. In October, 1966, Keating publicly indicated that he was willing to turn over to the Justice Department information he and citizens concerning the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi. In making the offer, he charged that the FBI had 'not done its job' in locating the guilty parties, implying that FBI officials in Mississippi were sympathetic to the racist slayers. When contacted, however, Keating stated he had never been in Mississippi, and that he had not personally obtained any evidence whatsoever concerning the crime." The articles also identified other individuals associated with Ramparts and indicated Ramparts was responsible for "breaking the sensational story concerning CIA channeling funds to SA's."

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DATE 7/7/80 BY [signature]

REC 20

100-445393-41

NOT RECORDED  
191 APR 26 1967

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 4/12/67 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

64 MAY 2 1967

Original filed in: 66-1741-3056

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

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DECLASSIFICATION

AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:

FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)

DATE 02-09-2011

- ~~TOP SECRET~~
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]
  - 1 - Mr. Sullivan
  - 1 - Mr. Cregar
  - 1 - Mr. Brougan
  - 1 - Mr. Peterson

April 18, 1967

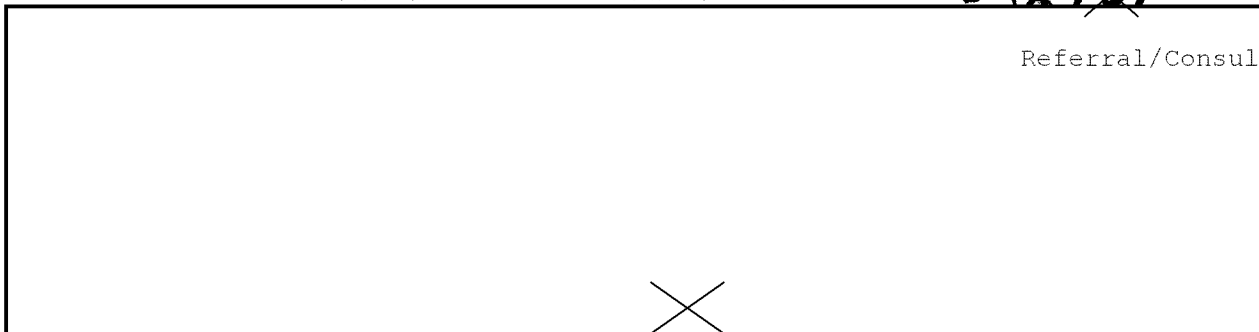


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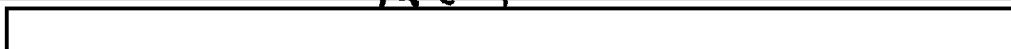


~~(S)~~

On April 13 and 14, 1967, a source whose reliability has not been established but who is in a position to furnish reliable information made available the following: ~~(S)~~



Referral/Consult



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b1

100-36457  
ECF:als (9)

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

REASON-FC  
DATE OF RE...

1 - [redacted]

100-445005 ("Ramparts")

DOWNGRADED TO SECRET  
6-322 ALU V/C/E/R/W/H  
9-26-02

SP. DISK file  
11/1/87  
LOW  
SEE NOTE PAGE TWO  
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52 MAY 2 1967

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~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

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~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

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[Redacted]

b7D

[Redacted] ~~(S)~~

Source has advised that

[Redacted]

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A third confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

~~(S)~~

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

~~(S)~~

NOTE:

See memorandum Branigan to Sullivan, captioned as above, dated 4-18-67, prepared by ECP:cls.

~~(S)~~

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(S)

[Redacted]

First source is

[Redacted]

Second source is

Third source is

[Redacted]

~~(S)~~

(S)

Classified "~~Top Secret/No Foreign Dissemination~~" as it contains information from a

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[Redacted]

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~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)  
DATE 02-09-2011

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Cregar  
1 - Mr. Branigan  
4-18-67

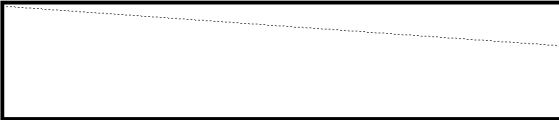
Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. Peterson

~~SECRET~~

Mr. W. A. Branigan

(U)

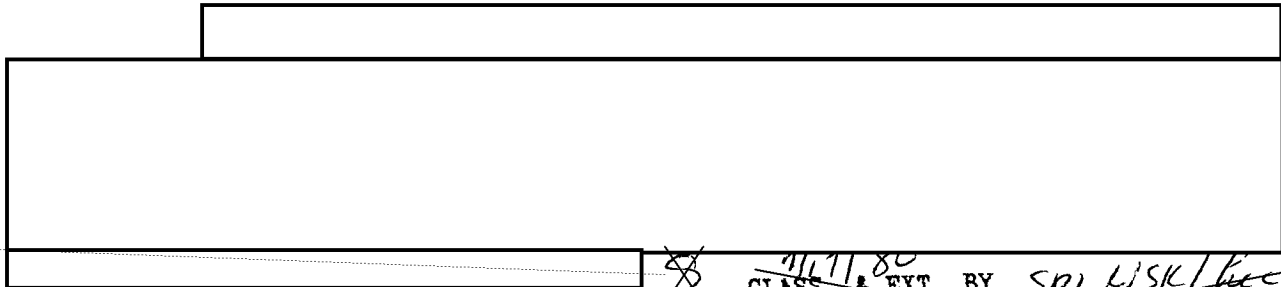


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OTHERWISE~~ Referral/Consult

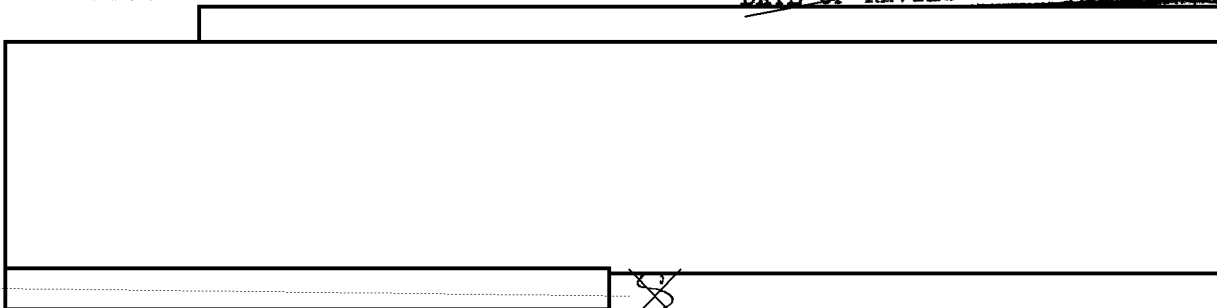
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DATE OF REVIEW 4/18/87

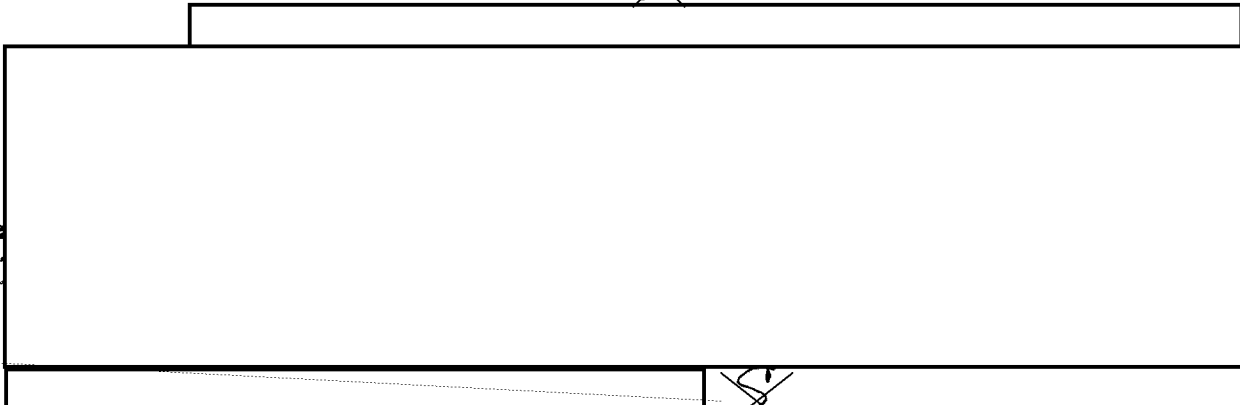
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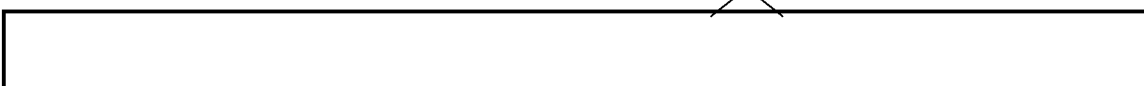


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Enclosures

105-86487

1 - 105-142708

1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

ECP:cls (8)

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145 APR 22 1967

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60322 ACU/100/PM/4-26-87

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~~SECRET~~

Memorandum Transmitted to Sullivan

(U) RE: [REDACTED]  
105-86457

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[REDACTED] X  
Referral/Consult

(U) [REDACTED] X

OBSERVATIONS:

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b7C  
b7D

(U) [REDACTED] X

ACTION:

If you agree, attached is a communication for dissemination as indicated above which advises of the information contained herein.

~~SECRET~~

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

5/8/67

REC-126  
Director, FBI (100-445393) - 42

1 - Mr. B. A. Wells

"RAMPARTS"  
IS - C

Reurlet 4/26/67.

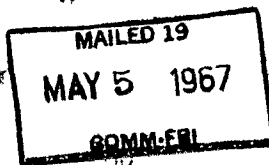
Authority is denied to check the bank account of captioned publication.

BAW:pag  
(4)

NOTE:

"Ramparts" is a leftist magazine which has been highly critical of U. S. policy toward Vietnam. It has been described as a magazine dedicated to intellectual muckraking. It was recently responsible for the disclosure of CIA subsidies to the National Students Association and to several foundations. At the present time, the magazine is having a fight among its board of directors and officers; Edward Keating, its founder, recently was removed as editor in chief. Keating is a wealthy individual who says that he has invested over \$800,000 in the past two years. Some of its other backers are wealthy and have donated large sums to it. A check of bank records at this time could prove highly embarrassing to the Bureau, if compromised. Therefore, authority to check such records is being denied.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



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DATE 7/17/82 BY [signature]

56 MAY 17 1967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAY 10 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 4/26/67

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS"  
IS - C

Captioned publication, with editorial offices in San Francisco, has grown to a circulation of approximately 200,000 during the past two and one-half years after changing from a dissident Catholic laymen's publication to one concerned with social and political criticism, from a "left" perspective, of American society in general. The increment to the staff during the past two years has included many individuals with substantial subversive affiliations.

The recent growth and success of this publication has generated widespread interest and is the subject of several feature articles in national publications. Enclosed herewith are two Xerox copies of an article from the 4/3/67 issue of the "National Observer" which presents an impartial picture of the character of "Ramparts."

There is much speculation regarding the large and continuing losses sustained by this publication, which lacks ordinary advertising revenue. There is a large amount of subsidization and the source of these funds, estimated at \$2,000,000.00, is the subject of widespread speculation.

Enthusiastic comments from members of the "New Left" reflect their recognition of the fact that for the first time, through the content of this publication, they have had impact upon U. S. Government policies and the operation of its agencies. This success may have influenced wealthy radicals to make large contributions and has probably gained the attention of foreign intelligence agencies to the vulnerability of U. S. agency operations to publicity and public opinion.

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco

EJO/jr  
(3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/7/80 BY huc

8 APR 28 1967

IN 2 SEC.  
SUBV. CONTROL

Letter to SAC, SF  
BAW: pag  
5/8/67

ENCLOSURE

REC-28

EX-112

100-445393-42

SF 157-459  
EJO/jr

Because of the reasons stated above, it is recommended that the San Francisco Office initiate an investigation of "Ramparts" limited to checking the sources of its subsidized income through established bank contacts. [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] A discreet approach to this problem has been made because of the muckraking policies and the past attacks against the FBI of this publication.

Bureau authority is requested in this instance because of the sensitive nature of this investigation. It is assured that the limited inquiry proposed will be conducted without disclosure of our investigative attention to this publication.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# A New Magazine Rakes the Muck, Finds Pay Dirt

## Ramparts' Editors Uncloak The CIA, Blast Johnson, And Gather Subscribers

SAN FRANCISCO.

Ramparts magazine was joyously muckraking again last week. This time, the magazine charged that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was bribing and blackmailing foreign students in the United States to spy on their own countries.

And, this time, no one could easily dismiss the charges, for Ramparts was the first to uncover CIA activities in subsidizing supposedly private organizations. That expose led last week to an announcement by President Johnson himself that the CIA was now under orders to get out and stay out of the super-secret subsidizing business.

It has been a big year for the San Francisco-based magazine. In terms of prestige, the pay-off came a few days ago when the magazine's publisher, Edward Keating, accepted the George Polk Memorial Award for magazine reporting.

There is nothing in American journalism quite like Ramparts. It has made a career of rocking the boat and shaking the sensibilities. And, its youthful editors contend, it is just beginning to fight.

### A Green Beret and Madame Nhu

The Polk award came at the end of a year of journalistic coups and exposes that have made the outspoken left-wing magazine one of the most controversial and highly publicized in the country. Its February 1966 issue offered a cover with the picture of a green-bereted Special Forces master sergeant and the words, "I Quit," and on the inside detailed his account of how Special Forces troops had been trained to torture prisoners in Vietnam and how the American military effort there resulted in the deaths of a lot

of innocent civilians. In April-1966 the cover featured a cartoon of a busty Madame Nhu performing as a Michigan State University cheerleader and a story on that university's involvement with the CIA in Vietnam training police forces. The October 1966 number contained a long article attributing the ascendancy of Ronald Reagan to the political and moral failure of California's liberal Democrats in general and former Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown in particular.

Its most famous coup, however, is its most recent—the exposure late in February of the CIA's infiltration and financial support of the National Student Association (NSA), a supposedly independent organization whose primary function is to choose American college students to represent the country abroad in exchange programs and international student organizations. For the past 15 years, Ramparts learned, the CIA had been funneling funds into the NSA treasury through several apparently innocent and independent philanthropic foundations in return for which the NSA would send students abroad to present the U.S. position in the Cold War.

For a number of reasons, including acute distrust of some CIA activities in many quarters and shrewd publicizing by Ramparts, the case grew into a *cause celebre* that dominated headlines for a couple of weeks.

When the wreckage cleared, the NSA and its programs had been pretty widely discredited. In addition, a large number of union, trade, student, educational, and charitable organizations had been embarrassed by the subsequent revelation of their financial ties with the secret intelligence organization.

It was a coup that made Ramparts the sensation of the journalistic world and excited comparisons with the great muckrakers of the past: Lincoln Steffens, Ida

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 The Nation  
Observer

New York, N.Y.

Date: 4-3-67  
Edition: Weekly  
Author: James I. Dickenson  
Editor: M. L. Giles  
Title:

Character:  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: F  
☐ Being Investigated

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/7/80 BY [signature]

SEARCHED INDEXED  
SERIALIZED FILED

FOR SAN FRANCISCO

100-445393-42  
ENCLOSURE 157-457-118

Tarbell, Upton Sinclair, S. S. McClure. In many respects it is difficult to understand why Ramparts was able to make a wave of such proportions. A monthly, its circulation is a little more than 200,000 and was only half that six months ago.

Its editorial offices, once described as having the happy haphazardness of a college humor magazine's quarters, are located in a nondescript hole-in-the-wall building on lower Broadway here, tucked in between the Homestead Ravioli Co. and a general contractor's office. Two blocks to the west is the flower of San Francisco night life—Yvonne D'Angers, topless dancer of the year; Caye Spiegelman, topless mother of eight; topless rasslin' and several establishments claiming the honor of being the original home of the amateur topless night. To the east is a highly imperfect view of the Oakland Bay Bridge.

But one should not be misled by such humble circumstances. The magazine's editors are already so confident of its commercial as well as artistic success—they foresee a circulation of 400,000 or 500,000, within a year or so and eventually maybe even 1,000,000—that they are worried about the problem of boredom setting in. To head this off they are beginning to think in terms of branching off into the other fields of communications. They already have a contract with McGraw-Hill, and are preparing books on such topics as the CIA, conservation, and married Catholic clergymen. They have started a "weekly" newspaper, the Sunday Ramparts, which generally manages to come out every two weeks. They also are talking of acquiring a television station and starting their own advertising agency. Their purpose in all this is to start a new trend in American communications—to utilize the techniques of the modern commercial mass media to put across unpopular and unorthodox ideas and to make money doing it.

#### It Takes on Anybody

If Ramparts is any indication, they could succeed. Ramparts is a slick, professionally edited publication that offers highly imaginative art and pictorial work in full color. Its break-even point is estimated somewhere around 250,000 circulation, which its editors and backers expect to reach within the next year, a remarkably short time for a magazine that has published as a monthly for only about 2½ years. As far as being unpopular and unorthodox is concerned, it bellicosely takes on just about anybody that gets in its way—the CIA, the Department of Defense, the liberal establishment, the war in Vietnam, the oil industry, the Catholic Church, the New Left, the Warren Commission, the "hippy" movement that has sprung up here (see Page 24), the homosexual influence in modern art and culture. You name it—and Ramparts has something to say about it, but on its own terms.

#### Mouthpiece for the New Left?

Although Ramparts stands well to the left of most of the rest of the country on most issues, the editors deny to the man that they are the mouthpiece of the New Left or such organizations as Students for a Democratic Society and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee before they are even asked. They have aroused the ire of SNCC and Mort Sahl as well as the CIA and have been on balance considerably kinder to Ronald Reagan than to his liberal Democratic foes here in California, particularly Pat Brown, whose opinion of the magazine as reported to them is generally unprintable. American liberalism in fact is their chief villain, responsible for the war in Vietnam (which they hate), the "failure" of the war on poverty, the plight of the Negro in America, and just about every social ill in the country. In their eyes American liberalism has almost no redeeming virtue. "Doesn't Ramparts ever say anything nice about anybody?" Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, who is not one of Ramparts' favorite people, recently asked managing editor Robert Scheer. "Yes," he replied, "but we have to have something to go on."

Edward Keating, the man who started all this, is a bland-looking mild-mannered man of 41; a lawyer and businessman who had inherited some money and decided back in 1962 to spend some of it publishing a literary and cultural journal for liberal, independent Catholic intellectuals. In May 1962, Ramparts first appeared as a quarterly, actually a "fifthly" as it came out five times a year. He soon became convinced, however, that it was an outlet that apparently wasn't badly needed. "There weren't as many independent Catholic intellectuals as I had thought," he says. "Most of them are too busy circling the bishops."

#### Mr. Hinckle's Persuasion

During this time he had hired a young San Franciscan named Warren Hinckle III, then a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle, to do publicity for Ramparts on a part-time basis. In 1964, Mr. Hinckle, who could be content with the leisurely pace of a quarterly about as easily as he could breathe through his ears, persuaded his employer to make the journal a monthly general magazine and he became its editor.

Mr. Hinckle is now 28, a tall, rather pudgy, hard-driving, hard-drinking, fast-talking Irishman. His hair style gives him a vaguely Edwardian look and his addiction to bright shirts and suspenders and his restless energy lend an air of flamboyance. As a reporter for the Chronicle he battled against the construction of a freeway through the Golden Gate Park

and is at least partially responsible for the fact that it never came about.

He also was somewhat more conservative in his views than he is now. He once covered a civil-rights sit-in at the Mark Hopkins Hotel for the Chronicle and put it down as an unnecessary nuisance. One of the demonstrators was his present managing editor, Mr. Scheer, then a graduate student at Berkeley. "He was an Irish racist," Mr. Scheer laughs. "I think he really changed when he covered the march on Selma for the magazine." It must have been some change. A Ramparts director describes him now as a man with a profound social vision. He is also described by his publisher, his subordinates, and several members of the board of directors as a "genius," a term that invariably seems to come up in any discussion of him. This is a pretty tough encomium to live up to, but there is no denying that he has the good editor's instinct for what a good story is, how to play it, and how to publicize it.

#### The First Publicity Break

Not the least of his editorial assets is the fact that he doesn't have to have a roof fall in on his head. The magazine's first big publicity break—the confessions of Donald Duncan, the Special Forces sergeant—is a good example. In November 1965, Mr. Duncan, now the magazine's military editor, addressed a Vietnam Day Committee rally in Berkeley that Warren Hinckle and Robert Scheer happened to attend. Winner of a Silver Star in Vietnam, Mr. Duncan told the group approximately the same story that appeared in the magazine several months later. To Mr. Hinckle it seemed a natural, and his fear was that one of the local newspapers would get wind of what the sergeant was saying in public and do a story on him that would take the edge off their exclusive. No one did.

Nor was anything particularly new about their story on Michigan State and the CIA. The fact that certain Michigan State professors had been working for the CIA in helping set up police forces in South Vietnam and advising the Diem regime had been detailed in a book by two of their colleagues and the material had been lying around the Ramparts office for some time.

"It was Warren who figured out how to do the story, to give it the thrust of the CIA subsidizing and corrupting a part of a university, that put it across," says Sol Stern, the assistant managing editor. "We all knew about it but he gave it the angle it needed." The same was true of the NSA story. Ramparts got the story from a disillusioned NSA officer named Michael Wood, who had known nothing of the CIA involvement until taken into the confidence of the NSA president.



### It Was a Team Effort

The story was a team effort, with several staff members working on it and students that they knew helping with the research on the foundations involved in New York City, Boston, Washington, and Dallas. "I thought at any time the whole thing would fall apart," Sol Stern, who wrote the final story, said last week. "We were going primarily on the tip of one guy and he might turn out to be unreliable. We were expecting complete denials and a great hassle over its credibility. So Warren told me to write it low key, to build up the facts slowly and steadily, to give it all the credibility we could. It's really kind of dull, moves very slowly, but, given the kind of story it is, I think that's right."

Mr. Stern, a tall, quiet New Yorker of 31, leaned back in his chair and smiled slightly at the memory. "But you know there were no denials at all. When I finally talked to the NSA people they just looked kind of funny and said, 'Oh, that story, you don't want to do that. Too many people will get hurt.' Then was when I knew we had it."

The way the NSA story broke was something of a journalistic first and demonstrated again the magazine's tendency to unorthodoxy. The story was announced in full-page ads in the New York Times and the Washington Post a couple of weeks before the magazine came out, probably the first time in American journalistic history that a scoop was broken in advertisements in other publications. By the time many subscribers got the magazine the full story plus all the secondary revelations that were dug up by various newspapers had been told and retold, examined and analyzed from almost every point of view.

"Well, look, we had to move," Mr. Hinckle said last week, "It was starting to leak out. Some of the big Eastern papers were getting onto it and NSA was starting to panic. I was afraid we were going to get our own story shot out from under us." He paused and took a sip from a reasonably unorthodox luncheon cocktail, a bourbon and grapefruit juice. "That's the trouble with the monthly magazine. Too much time lag. It's hard to stay on top of breaking news, but even so we try. That's one reason why we started the weekly paper, the Sunday Ramparts."

It may be difficult for a monthly magazine to keep on top of the news, but Ramparts tries. They think little of delaying the press run for several days until they get a story completely nailed. Once, when it was still a quarterly, Mr. Hinckle tore the book up at the last minute to put in an interview with Rolf Hochhuth, author of *The Deputy*, a controversial play critical of the Pope Pius XII's attitude to-

ward Nazi Germany in World War II. The art director, not accustomed to such frenetic front-page tactics, quit. The habit of missing deadlines is such that the magazine missed its September issue altogether last fall. So what's in a name? They called August's successor October and put out a double issue in January by way of making it up to the subscribers.

"We decided first of all that we were going to put the magazine out our way or not at all," Mr. Hinckle continued. "In the first place, it's going to be a professional slick publication, full color, in the American idiom, the sort of thing the American people will read. And we're not going to be dull, which is the ultimate journalistic sin. We're also going to break all the rules we want. One rule is that you never have black on the cover for newsstand sales. We almost always have a black border around the cover picture and our newsstand sales are up to about 130,000, about five times what they were a year ago. And now I hear some other magazine is going to do the same."

### 'Edit It for Ourselves'

He continued hacking away at the bourbon and grapefruit juice, the words pouring out seasoned with profanity. "And we didn't decide what audience we were going after, which is common, make a market survey, and things like that. We decided to edit it for ourselves and whoever wanted to come along was welcome. We're not out to change the whole publishing spectrum. We intend to use professional, commercial journalistic techniques to bring unpopular ideas to the public for debate and to make money doing it. We want to go into television and do what educational TV is supposed to do but hasn't because it's so dull. Produce shows on the important public issues but professionally and profitably as commercial television does, and if we succeed then others can too."

Dugald Stermer, Ramparts' art director and the man along with Warren Hinckle who sets its style, smiled and nodded agreement. Mr. Stermer is 30, wears button-down collars, and looks like the advertising man he was in Houston before coming to work for Ramparts. Together they look like two successful graduates of a wealthy private school. "Same with advertising," Mr. Stermer said. "We'll take almost any account, including the big ones that advertise a lot, but particularly those that can't get agencies to take them now. Political groups and doctors who favor legalized abortion or are against cigarettes because of cancer. But they'll pay just like anyone else."

Both Warren Hinckle and Dugald Stermer are Californians—Mr. Hinckle a graduate of the University of San Francisco and Mr. Stermer a UCLA graduate.

In its brashness, breeziness, and exuberance, its flipness and self-conscious independence, Ramparts is peculiarly Western in flavor. It is interesting that Robert Scheer and Sol Stern, both New Yorkers and graduates of the City College of New York, think that such a magazine couldn't have been published in the East. "New York is too jaded, too cynical," Mr. Scheer says. "The magazine is too simple, too naive, too exuberant to have survived there." Sol Stern agrees. "Out here we're out of the literary and cultural mainstream. It gives us a chance to do something new, something a little more swinging. The East is too stuffy, too hypercritical. I don't think we could have survived back there in the early days. We'd be okay now since we've made our name, but I don't think we could have stood the criticism when we were younger."

The magazine's irreverence is not appreciated by everyone, needless to say, particularly its targets and it has some supporters who aren't sold on it either. One is Martin Peretz, a member of the board of directors and a Ph.D. in political science from Harvard who now teaches there. He is an Easterner, a native of New York City. "It's not my intellectual style," he says, and adds somewhat condescendingly: "I view it with an amused detachment and I'm critical of it being flip and hippy in a San Francisco sort of way." But then he adds by way of atonement: "We Harvard people tend to be pretty stuffy."

But for all his reservations on taste and style, Mr. Peretz reflects the views of those who read and support the magazine. These include: Opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam, a belief that the country needs to change its attitude toward the Cold War and communism, dissatisfaction with domestic progress on civil rights, and the elimination of poverty. The political label the editors use to describe themselves are "left liberal" and "left-center liberal." They reject the orthodox liberalism of Lyndon Johnson and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., as corrupt and power seeking and responsible for what they consider to be the mistakes of U.S. postwar foreign policy. In a sense, they feel more sympathy for the right wing in American politics than for the liberal center. "The right wing will at least debate the issues even though their solutions may be simplistic and primitive," Mr. Hinckle says. "But the liberals won't even talk about them."

### Its Far-Left Critics

The magazine isn't universally popular on the far left either. Its flipness and frank aspiration to a place in the commercial market offend many sincere ideologues, and to many on the far left Ramparts is just another bourgeois liberal mouthpiece. "I think a lot of kids who are

alienated glory in it and are sort of offended that we're out to turn a profit," Sol Stern says. "But I think we're enough a part of the protest and dissent of the past few years that a lot will stay with us."

Although they reject ties with the New Left, they do consider themselves spokesmen for the New Politics, the slogan Robert Scheer used when he ran for Congress in 1968. "We're the voice of people who want issues, not personalities, in politics," Warren Hinckle says. "We appeal to the young people and they're wary and skeptical. The old Cold War dialog doesn't sit well with them and they're interested in Vietnam, the Pentagon, the ghettos, not the old welfare issues of the '30s and '40s that the old liberals are still hung up on. We regard ourselves as a professional journal with a point of view with facts we've dug up to back it up. We don't settle for theoretical essays."

To this end, Ramparts has been celebrated for reviving the old art of muckraking. There is a resemblance to the old muckrakers; there's a sense of moral outrage, the conviction of wrongdoing in high places, the delight in getting the "inside" story.

Ramparts' version, however, is also more sophisticated. The old muckrakers looked for graft and corruption in high places and assumed that once it was exposed all would be well. The assumptions underlying many of Ramparts' exposes, particularly those involving the CIA, is that evil and corruption are the work of well-meaning men who believe that what they are doing is necessary and desirable. That's a much more difficult matter to deal with.

There is no reason to believe Ramparts won't keep on muckraking, unless it gets too successful or too smug or too cute or too given to dissent purely for dissent's sake. These are possibilities that are now beginning to bother some of the editors. It still may be a bit soon for that, however, because if the battle for survival has been won it's not by much.

The editors predict survival for another year or a year and a half, however, based on their present financial support; that's as long a period of grace as they've ever had. The magazine so far has lost about \$2,000,000, of which \$600,000 is Edward Keating's. Its recent success has brought in additional backers, some wealthy and sympathetic intellectuals such as Frederick Mitchell, a professor of history at the University of Kansas, who has invested \$200,000 in it. The board of directors also includes such as D. de Jersey Grut, an investment counselor, and the magazine is coming to be regarded as a solid enough property that it is attracting

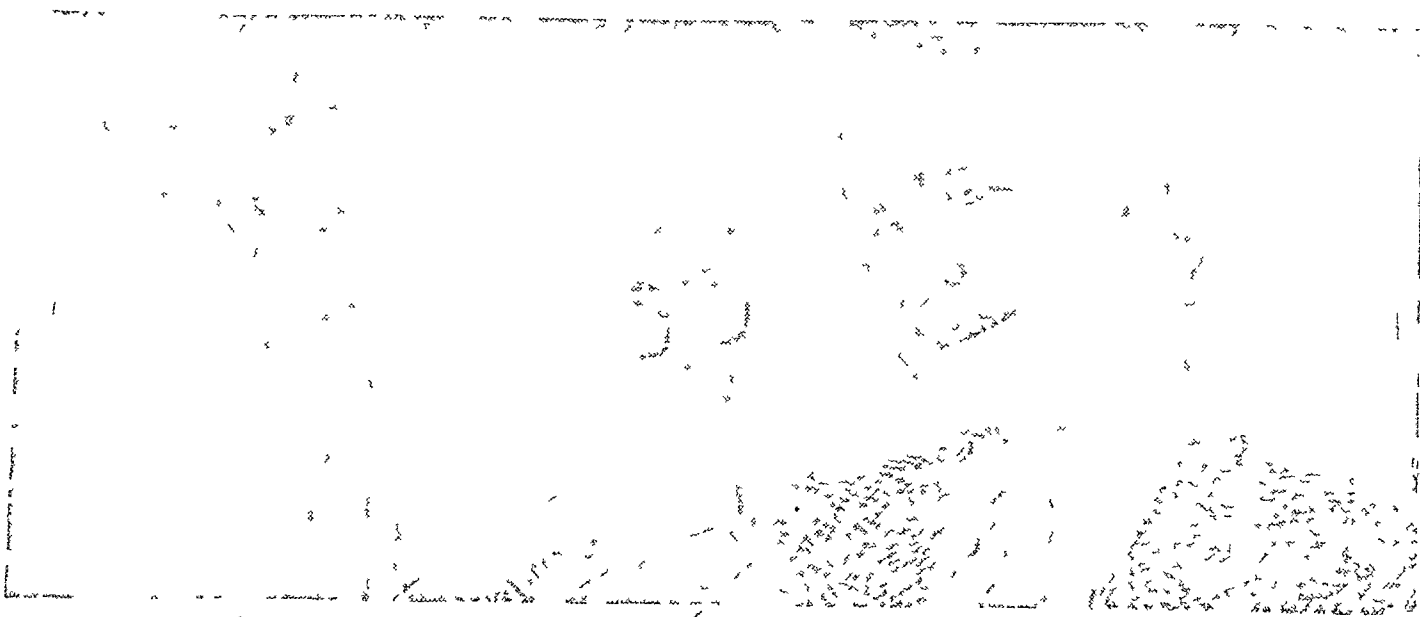
orthodox investment support. It also is getting 14 pages of advertising for its April issue, a record and gravy as far as the editors are concerned. The magazine is designed to survive on its circulation on the theory that this will keep it free of advertisers' pressures. At any rate, the editors of Ramparts expect to be around making waves for at least a while longer, and there are a lot of people who will not be particularly delighted to hear this.

—JAMES R. DICKENSON



—Bill Sauro

Ramparts' team: Mr. Keating, publisher, and Mr. Hinckle, editor.



Editors Sol Stern and Robert Scheer, art director Dugald Stermer.

Printed on page 100

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Wick *Wick*

DATE: 5-1-67

FROM : M. A. Jones *M. A. Jones*

SUBJECT: WARREN HINCKLE III  
PUBLISHER  
RAMPARTS MAGAZINE

## BACKGROUND:

The April 28th edition of "The Washington Post" carries an item indicating that captioned individual, who has been executive editor of Ramparts, is taking over as publisher of the magazine in place of Edward M. Keating, who has been fired by the directors of Ramparts. The Director has asked, "What do we know about Hinckle?"

## INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Warren Hinckle is listed as a sponsor of a State-Wide Convention on Power and Politics which was to be held September 30 - October 2, 1966, under the sponsorship of Californians for Liberal Representation (CLR). CLR is described as "an effective organization for liberal thought and action." It is known that various segments of the Southern California District Communist Party urged its members to participate in the CLR-sponsored convention, mentioned above, which was to be held at East Los Angeles College. (100-442778-6, ep9)

Warren J. Hinckle, executive editor-associate publisher, and two of the staff members of Ramparts in its April, 1966, issue wrote an article disclosing that Michigan State University (MSU) had acted as a cover for the Central Intelligence Agency in South Vietnam from 1955 to 1959 during MSU's 7-year operation of U. S. Government Technical Assistance Program for the late president, Ngo Dinh Diem's regime. ("Facts on File")

Referral/Consult

In a Scripps-Howard article which was published in "The Washington Daily News" on

ENCLOSURE

Enclosure

1 - Mr. Wick - Enclosure

1 - Mr. DeLoach - Enclosure

1 - Mr. Sullivan - Enclosure

1 - Mr. Tavel (8)

56 MAY 11 1967

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DATE 7/7/80 BY [signature] CRIME RESEARCH

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-442778

M. A. Jones to Mr. Wick Memorandum  
RE: Warren Hinckle III

February 17, 1967, Hinckle was interviewed and quoted as saying:

"It isn't so much that we are against the CIA as such. We believe there should be a give and take of all kinds of interest groups in this country and we are concerned at such widespread and still spreading secret control by the Government of so many so-called independent public institutions. This penetration undermines their independence."

In response to a question concerning the John Birch Society, the article quoted Hinckle as remarking:

"The right wing isn't necessarily so terrible. It wasn't the right wing or the military that got us into Vietnam -- and Ramparts has been very, very critical of that. It was the Arthur Schlesingers and the Jack Kennedys."

"American Liberalism today is a corrupted, decaying, sluggish, stagnant doctrine that has only a rhetoric but no means of fitting itself to reality. It is time for a re-examination of its basic policies."

"The great tragedy, the stupidity, of this CIA penetration is that after all these years it turns out that our supposedly free students have been tied to a secret Government apparatus just as we have been accusing the communists of doing."

b6  
b7C

The Identification Division has a record for [redacted]  
FBI Number [redacted] who was born in [redacted]

[redacted] A copy of his identification record is attached.

[redacted] Referral/Consult

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

## Keating Fired As Publisher Of Ramparts *A-8*

SAN FRANCISCO, April 27 (AP)—Directors of Ramparts magazine fired Edward M. Keating as president and publisher.

Keating, Menlo Park attorney, has been a principal angel of the aggressive journal that exposed the Central Intelligence Agency's secret financing of the National Students Association.

After the board's action, Keating countered with a demand for immediate payment of \$215,000. He said Ramparts owed him this amount in open debt. He estimated his Ramparts investment at \$860,000.

Keating's functions as publisher were taken over by Warren Hinckle III, 28, executive editor.

*What do we know  
about Hinckle?*

*A*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/17/80 BY UC

*Memo Jones to  
Wick 5/1/67  
TDH/GW*

ENCLOSURE

Date APR 28 1967

1 MAY 10 1967

*Tolson* ✓  
DeLoach ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Wick ✓  
Casper ✓  
Callahan ✓  
Conrad ✓  
Felt ✓  
Gale ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Sullivan ✓  
Tavel ✓  
Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Holmes ✓  
Gandy ✓

The Washington Post *A-8*  
Times Herald  
The Washington Daily News  
The Evening Star (Washington)  
The Sunday Star (Washington)  
Daily News (New York)  
Sunday News (New York)  
New York Post  
The New York Times  
World Journal Tribune  
(New York)  
The Sun (Baltimore)  
The Worker  
The New Leader  
The Wall Street Journal  
The National Observer  
People's World

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO The Director

DATE APRIL 12, 1967

FROM N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT The Congressional Record

Pages H3901-H3903. Congressman Ashbrook, (R) Ohio, stated the April 8, 1967, issue of Human Events, the national conservative newsweekly, featured an extensive article on Ramparts, the leftwing publication which brought to public attention recently the CIA-NASA affair. - - - Newsworthy items to Human Events include the warnings of J. Edgar Hoover on the Communist Party, U. S. A. and Communist front groups, - - - and reports on a multiplicity of issues bearing on the interests of the United States - - -. In direct contrast are some of the targets of Ramparts anti-U. S. tirades. Director Hoover and the FBI, along with the congressional investigative committees, are fair game. - - - Differences in policies and methods are to be expected in these troubled times. However, in an era when totalitarianism covets the lives of free men everywhere, the best interests of the United States in defense of its security and survival is a fair criterion on which to base such policies and methods. In this light, the following article on Ramparts by M. M. Morton, which is the pen name of an expert on internal security affairs, should be judged. I include the article, 'The Inside Story of Ramparts Magazine,' from the April 8, 1967, issue of Human Events in the Record. The article is set forth in the Record. The article points out Ramparts' efforts to discredit the FBI, CIA, KCUA and cites several examples concluding: "Nor has Ramparts any intention of slowing down. Though \$1.2 million in debt, its backers are putting out a weekly tabloid (Sunday Ramparts) and are trying to acquire an advertising agency, a book publishing house and an ultra-high frequency TV station to promote its virulently left-wing views." The article indicated that Ramparts also keeps a stable of nationally known FBI-baiters - - -. Fred J. Cook has checked in with more warmed-up minutiae of alleged FBI malfeasance and a renegade ex-FBI agent, William Turner, is a Ramparts staff writer. Several of Turner's articles have criticized his former employer in abusive terms. (William W. Turner entered on duty as an Agent on February 3, 1931, and was dismissed on July 19, 1961.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

EX-110  
REC-35

100-445393 44

NOT RECORDED

145 MAY 10 1967

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for APRIL 11, 1967 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 5/9/67

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS"  
 IS - C  
 Bufile 100-445393  
 SF 157-459



Re Bulet to San Francisco, 5/8/67, under the caption  
 of "Ramparts" and Bulet to San Francisco 5/5/67 under the  
 caption [redacted]

San Francisco is requesting clarification on which  
 instruction in referenced letters will prevail in the  
 investigation of "Ramparts" magazine.

4 - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco (1 - 157-459)  
 (1 - 100-46832)  
 EJO/jr  
 (6)

REC-22

100-445393-45

13 MAY 10 1967

Let to SF ~ 5/18/67  
 [Signature]  
 [Signature]

① INT/Sec.  
 SUB CONTROL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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 DATE 7/17/80 BY [Signature]

55 MAY 19 1967

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7/11 L DIV

MAY 12 3 17 PM '67

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14. RE: T NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN MADE FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM. (SEE BUFILE S) 62 11639\* (SSC), 62 116464 (HSC)

SSC 62-116395-970 HSC \_\_\_\_\_

ACC \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ ACC \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL ✓ DATE 10/17/75 DEL \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SDR RE MARTIN LUTHER KING JR WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT, SEE BUFILE 100 106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.

1 - Mr. Shaw  
1 - Mr. Wells

SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

5-18-67

Director, FBI (100-445393)

"RAMPARTS"  
IS - C

Reurlet 5-9-67 and Bulet 5-5-67.

Inasmuch as the Department has authorized an investigation of "Ramparts," you are to follow the instructions set out in Bulet 5-5-67. The investigation of "Ramparts" is to be conducted separately from the investigation of [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Of particular interest in your investigation is the extent of Communist Party or other subversive influence in "Ramparts."

Submit a report to the Bureau by 6-17-67. Include your recommendation as to whether further investigation is warranted. This investigation must be conducted discreetly due to the possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.

BAW:mh (5)

NOTE:

"Ramparts" is a leftist publication which has been highly critical of U.S. foreign policy. It is self-described by one of its editors as an "intellectual muckraker."

[REDACTED] By letter dated 4-26-67 the Department requested further investigation concerning [REDACTED] "Ramparts." Due to the sensitivity of investigating a magazine, we have previously refused permission to the San Francisco Office to check the bank account of "Ramparts." However, in view of the Department's request (which has been furnished to San Francisco), we should open an investigation of "Ramparts."

olson \_\_\_\_\_  
eLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
ohr \_\_\_\_\_  
ick \_\_\_\_\_  
rasper \_\_\_\_\_  
allahah \_\_\_\_\_  
onrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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ele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
olmes \_\_\_\_\_  
andy \_\_\_\_\_

EX-110

REC-59

100-445393-46  
MAY 18 1967

62 MAY 25 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN  
DATE 7/7/80 BY [signature]

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

DATE

REC 72

MAY 18 1967

SENSTUDY 75

NOTATIONS HEREIN ACCOUNT FOR ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY OF THIS DOCUMENT TO SENATE  
SELECT COMMITTEE (SSC) AND/OR HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE (HSC) ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.

IMPORTANT NOTE: FORM IN WHICH ACCESS AND/OR DELIVERY WAS MADE MAY BE DIFFERENT  
THAN AS REPRESENTED BY THIS DOCUMENT IN THAT CERTAIN EXCISIONS MAY HAVE BEEN  
MADE. FOR ACCESS/DELIVERY FORM, SEE BUFILE (S) 62-116395 (SSC), 62-116464 (HSC).

SSC

62-116395-478

HSC

ACC. \_\_\_\_\_

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DATE \_\_\_\_\_

DEL. ☒ \_\_\_\_\_

DATE 12/17/76

DEL. \_\_\_\_\_

DATE \_\_\_\_\_

MISC: DOCUMENTS FURNISHED TO SSC RE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., WERE ALSO FURNISHED  
TO ESTATE OF KING THROUGH THE DEPT. AS INDICATED BELOW FOR INSTANT DOCUMENT, DATE  
DENOTING DELIVERY TO DEPT. SEE BUFILE 100-106670 FOR FORM IN WHICH FURNISHED.  
\_\_\_\_\_ TO DEPT.

MAY 17 4 55 PM '67

REC'D - SULLIVAN  
FBI - JUSTICE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO Mr. Wick *Wick*

DATE 5/12/67

FROM M. A. Jones *Jones*

SUBJECT IRVING F. LAUCKS, FREDERICK C. MITCHELL,  
AND LOUIS HONIG  
INVESTORS IN RAMPARTS' MAGAZINE  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

## BACKGROUND:

An article appearing in the 5/8/67 edition of the "Washington Post" identified captioned individuals as investors in "Ramparts" magazine. According to this article, Laucks, described as an 85-year-old retired inventor residing in Santa Barbara, California, owns 5 percent of its stock; Mitchell, an Assistant Professor of History at the University of Kansas, reportedly has contributed \$300,000 to the magazine and owns 20 percent of its stock; Honig, described as a San Francisco advertising man, allegedly owns 10 percent of its stock.

## INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Irving F. Laucks, born 7/3/82, at Akron, Ohio, holds a Master of Science degree from Case Institute of Technology (1904), and is reportedly a retired multimillionaire. He is former President of Laucks Laboratories Inc., and Director of Laucks Chemical Company.

Laucks' last known address was 706 Rockwood Drive, Santa Barbara, California, and in February, 1967, he was allegedly connected with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara. A former employee described Laucks as a multimillionaire who in the past resided on a large tract of land near Healdsburg, California, and whose basic interests are "peace" and "reciprocal disarmament." According to this same source, Laucks was a sincere old man who regarded himself as a philosopher, and who maintained an extensive mailing list. He reportedly has written several articles dealing with his interests and corresponds voluminously. An article appearing in the "Santa Rosa Press Democrat," a newspaper published at Santa Rosa, California, in 3/27/60, discussed Laucks' pacifism and stated that he "writes letters to the President of the United States and some 2,000 other prominent people," and that his aim is to get "people to educate themselves and let their leaders know they want peace."

ENCLOSURE 7/1/80 REC-75

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach CLASS. & EXT. BY *SP1/MSH/...*
- 1 - Mr. Wick REASON FOR II. *...*
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan DATE OF REVIEW *...*

57 MAY 29 1967 (8)

CONTINUED - OVER

SECRET

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SECRET

UNREC COPY FILED IN

M. A. Jones to Wick Memo  
RE: INVESTORS IN "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

~~SECRET~~

Laucks was the subject of a Security-Communism investigation which we concluded in February, 1967. In 1960, a source furnished a copy of a small pamphlet written by Laucks entitled "War! What Can I Do About It" which was a typical pacifist tract which urged the reader to work for peace through disarmament and to join an organization working for peace. Laucks was also reportedly the signer of a letter to President Johnson dated 3/22/64, which enclosed a memo, "The Triple Revolution," that attempted to point out current economic, military and social changes.

A confidential source advised that on 8/10/65, a group of Communist Party (CP) members met at Santa Barbara, California, and discussed a project to start a new Marxist School in Los Angeles. It was announced that Irving F. Laucks was to be contacted to see if he would make a contribution to the new school. Reportedly, Laucks was one of the sponsors of the New Left School (NLS) in Los Angeles and had donated funds to that school. His name was listed as a "resource person" in the Spring, 1966, brochure of the NLS. The NLS allegedly originated in the Education Commission of the Southern California District of the CP.

Information was received that on 6/24/65, Bill Taylor, Vice-Chairman of the Southern California District CP, contacted various CP members in Santa Barbara and requested that Laucks be contacted to see whether Laucks would be interested in attending the Helsinki Peace Conference, to be held in July, 1965. Laucks supposedly declined because of his age and the hardships which traveling incurred. Information received in December, 1966, indicated that Laucks had contributed \$100 for the War Crimes Tribunal being organized by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

On 2/6/67, a source familiar with general CP activities in the Santa Barbara area advised that Laucks was not known to have ever been active in the CP. (105-126563)

Literature announcing rallies organized by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam scheduled for 4/15/67 carried Laucks' name as a sponsor.

The files of the Identification Division contain no arrest data identifiable with Laucks.

CONTINUED - OVER

- 2 -

↓ ↓  
~~SECRET~~

M. A. Jones to Wick Memo  
Re: INVESTORS IN "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

~~SECRET~~

Frederick C. Mitchell reportedly invested \$200,000 in "Ramparts" magazine while a graduate student at the University of California. Mitchell supposedly obtained this money through inheritance. He reportedly has since loaned the magazine an additional \$100,000. The "Daily Californian," a University of California at Berkeley campus newspaper, on 3-11-63, carried a paid advertisement objecting to the exclusion of Herbert Aptheker from speaking on the campus. The advertisement carried a list of individuals protesting the ban and one of the names appearing thereon was Frederick C. Mitchell. (100-445393-29) S

The current telephone directory of Lawrence, Kansas, lists Mitchell's address as 1539 Vermont Street. No arrest record identifiable with Mitchell could be located in the files of the Identification Division.

No pertinent information identifiable with Louis Honig could be located in Bufiles. The files of the Identification Division contain an arrest record for one Louis Honig, born 10-11-11, who was arrested by the Marin County, California, Sheriff's Office (San Rafael) on 7-5-41 for violation of Section 502-250a of the California Vehicle Code. Section 502 of the Code involves driving while under the influence of liquor (misdemeanor). The record indicates Honig was released on bail.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information. ✓

*WCS*

*P*

*WBS*

*JS*

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

Tolson ✓  
DeLoach ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Wick ✓  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen ✓  
Sullivan ✓  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Showdown Set Over Control Of Ramparts

By Julius Duschka  
Special to The Washington Post

SAN FRANCISCO, May 7—  
Stockholders of Ramparts will  
meet Monday afternoon in the  
magazine's offices down the  
street from San Francisco's  
topless night club area to de-  
cide who should be their top  
man.

Warren Hinckle III, the 28-  
year-old editor of the con-  
troversial magazine that ex-  
posed CIA financing of the  
National Student Association,  
is in a bitter struggle for con-  
trol of Ramparts with Edward  
M. Keating, a 42-year-old busi-  
nessman who started the mag-  
azine, poured more than \$800,-  
000 of his own money into the  
still-profitless venture, and re-  
mains the biggest single stock-  
holder.

Ten days ago, the board of  
directors of Ramparts fired  
Keating as publisher by a vote  
of 13 to 1 after he tried to  
throw out Hinckle, whom he  
hired as editor three years  
ago.

Hinckle, who has turned  
the magazine into one of the  
most talked-about publications  
in the United States, is expect-  
ed to win the showdown at the  
stockholders' meeting, which  
was called by Keating.

## \$215,000 Owed Keating

The stockholders are also  
expected to try to resolve a  
conflict over how the maga-  
zine will repay Keating \$215,-  
000 in loans he made to Ram-  
parts since starting it as a  
liberal Catholic publication  
five years ago.

If Keating should be able  
to force an immediate repay-  
ment of the money he claims  
is due him, this could put the  
magazine's future in grave  
jeopardy.

Under Hinckle's direction,  
Ramparts has shifted its locus  
drastically and become an out-  
spoken opponent of the war in  
Vietnam and has advocated  
development of a radical poli-  
tics in the U.S. seeking the es-  
tablishment of a New Left  
movement divorced from the  
Democratic Party.

But the argument between  
Hinckle and Keating has no  
ideological base. It is a pure  
power struggle similar to  
those that have gone on in  
the huge corporations that the  
magazine opposes.

## Headed Demonstration

Keating was chairman of  
the march and demonstration  
against the war in Vietnam,  
which was held in San Fran-  
cisco last month, and he ran  
for Congress last year as a  
New Left candidate. He lives  
in the stylish San Francisco  
suburb of Atherton.

There have been, however,  
many arguments between Hin-  
ckle and Keating over the kind  
of investigations the maga-  
zine should undertake.

The editors claim that Keat-  
ing wanted Ramparts to pub-  
lish an article showing that  
the Knights of Columbus were  
engaged in a plot to over-  
throw the U.S. Government.

Keating also wanted, the  
editors maintain, the maga-  
zine to outfit a reporter with  
a hollow shoe containing a  
compass and a saw blade and  
then send the man to Louisi-  
ana to investigate reports of  
a slave labor camp there. The  
compass and the saw blade  
were to be used to get out of  
the labor camp.

Another complaint by the  
Ramparts editors against Keat-

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 7/1/80 BY [signature]~~

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
World Journal Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
(New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

ENCLOSURE

107-445375-4

ing is that he was not much of a fund raiser. They cite his unsuccessful effort to reach Hugh Hefner, publisher of Playboy magazine, who was said to be always sleeping or swimming when Keating tried to get in touch with him.

From 1962 until early in 1965, Keating put most of his private fortune, which came from real estate, into Ramparts.

When Keating ran out of money, Hinckle, whose long, straight, black hair and fondness for vests gave him an Edwardia look, and Robert Scheer, the bearded managing editor of the magazine who almost won the Democratic nomination for Congress in Berkeley last year, began to raise money themselves to keep Ramparts going.

→ Their principal source has been Frederick C. Mitchell, a man of inherited wealth whom Scheer knew when both he and Mitchell were graduate students on the University of California's Berkeley campus.

#### **Has \$200,000 Invested**

→ Mitchell, now an assistant professor of history at the University of Kansas, has put \$200,000 in this magazine and loaned it another \$100,000.

Another source tapped by Hinckle and Scheer is Louis Honig, a San Francisco advertising man who has invested \$100,000. Another investor is Irving Laucks of Santa Barbara, Calif., an 85-year-old retired inventor who has put \$50,000 into the magazine.

Hinckle and Scheer have raised about \$1 million, half of it in capital and half in loans, during the past 18 months while Keating's role in the operation of the magazine was largely that of a figurehead.

Keating still owns 42 per cent of the Ramparts stock, Mitchell has 20 per cent, Honig 10 per cent and Laucks 5 per cent. The rest of the stock is spread among ~~persons~~ with small holdings.

#### **No Votes but His Own**

The Ramparts editors claim that Keating has no votes for regaining control of the magazine other than his own and that all of the other stockholders want Hinckle to run the magazine.

Although the editors of Ramparts claim that the magazine's circulation has increased threefold since last fall, from 74,000 in October to 228,000 in March when the expose of the CIA was published, Ramparts is still losing money.

Hinckle believes that the magazine can make money with a stable circulation of 200,000, but says that Ramparts will need at least another \$250,000 in loans and capital to reach the break-even point.



May 19, 1967

BY LIAISON

[redacted]  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear [redacted]

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~

~~DATE 7/17/80~~

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
[redacted] furnished this Bureau with information he  
received anonymously and which I felt might be of interest to the  
[redacted]

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 105-141-1

The central files of the FBI reveal that [redacted]

[redacted] who was born on [redacted] has not  
been the subject of an investigation by the FBI. However, our files  
do reveal that in the past he has described his occupation as being a  
[redacted]

[redacted] The February,  
1967, issue of "Ramparts" magazine lists David Welsh as one of its  
two News Editors.

Mr. DeLoach (sent direct) 1 - Mr. Gale (sent direct) 1 - Mr. Rosen (sent  
direct)

JCF:jma/llm/clc (8)

MAY 23 1967

Delivered to [redacted]  
on [redacted]

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

[redacted]

The fingerprint files of the Identification Division of the FBI contain no arrest data identifiable with [redacted] based upon background information available.

b6  
b7C

The central files of the FBI reveal that [redacted] who was born on [redacted] and who resided at [redacted] has not been the subject of an investigation by the FBI. However, our files reveal the following information concerning him.

[redacted] it was reported that [redacted] had advised the State Department that he planned to attend the [redacted] He noted that he had arranged his attendance at this [redacted] and was writing under their direction to let the State Department know the circumstances of his joining the [redacted]

In October, 1959, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Our files further reveal that Wallace M. Cohen, Chevy Chase, Maryland, [redacted] was a former member of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), having resigned in November, 1939. The NLG has been cited as a communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In February, 1941, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Mrs. Wallace Cohen, Chevy Chase, Maryland, was then a member of the Washington League of Women Shoppers, an organization cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a communist front.

[redacted]

In April, 1942, Mr. Wallace M. Cohen, Chevy Chase, Maryland, advised representatives of this Bureau that he believed he had been a member of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action (WCDA) at one time, but had never participated in any of the activities of that organization. The WCDA has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

b6  
b7c

Civil fingerprints were located in the files of the FBI Identification Division which may be identical with those of [redacted]. These fingerprints were searched through the criminal files of the Identification Division and no arrest record was located. It is not known whether this [redacted] is identical with [redacted].

The central files of the FBI reveal no derogatory or background data identifiable with the Overseas National Airways.

A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

*S*  
Olson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Wick ☒  
Casper ☐  
Callahan ☐  
Conrad ☐  
Felt ☐  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☐  
Tavel ☐  
Trotter ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Holmes ☐  
Gandy ☐

TO Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE 5/25/67

~~SECRET~~

FROM D. J. Brennan, Jr. *DJB*

SUBJECT RAMPARTS

*C* *W* This is the left-wing publication which has attacked the Bureau and which has been conducting a vigorous campaign in opposition to our Vietnam policy.

Referral/Consult

## ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Wick
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

SJP:rab  
(7) *rab*

*WCS* *7/17/80*  
CLASS. &  
REASON-FC  
DATE OF REVIEW *3/27/84*

*100-445393-49*

**REC 31**

18 JUN 5 1967

*54 JUN 12 1967*

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE May 29, 1967

FROM D. J. Brennan

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. D. J. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. Papich

SUBJECT

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7C

Referral/Consult

REC- 59 100- 445 95- 10

For your information both Waskow and Raskin are connected with "Ramparts" magazine, which has been vigorously opposing United States policy in Vietnam and which in general has been following a procommunist line. Both of the individuals have been closely identified with the Institute of Policy Studies, members of which have collaborated with "Ramparts."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

CLASS. &  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 5/29/87

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

55 JUN 14 1967

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]  
Referral/Consult

ACTION:

For information.

*DD*

*Wes*

*D*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

June 2, 1967

REC-69

100-445393-51

C.D. Buggan

Kleibman

b6  
b7C

Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of May 30th, with enclosure.

Although I would like to be of assistance, information in our files must be maintained as confidential pursuant to regulations of the Department of Justice. I am sure you will understand the reason for this policy.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. Bufiles reflect that Ramparts Magazine is well known to the Bureau as it has been critical of the Bureau.

Referral/Consult

BGH:jfe (3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/17/80 BY [signature]

MAILED 2

JUN 2 1967

COMM-FBI

RECEIVED

RECEIVED

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_

141967

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

Phone



Office Hours:  
10 to 12 A.M.  
and 4 to 7 P.M.

b6  
b7C

5/30/67

J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing the address patch from a magazine I recently subscribed to. Before subscribing to this magazine I never received any Communist Literature in the U.S. mails. Since subscribing to this magazine I have received numerous pieces of obviously RED mail. Is this a communist publication?

When I subscribed I thought it was a publication to air the Republican political view.

Sincerely,

/s/



O Ramparts

ITC 6-1-67  
mea

(100-445393-51)

ACK  
6/2/67  
BBH:grg  
mea

REC-69

100-445393-51

JUN 8 1967



b6  
b7C

5/30/67

J. Edgar. Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing the address  
patch from a magazine I recently  
subscribed to. Before subscribing  
to this magazine I never  
received any communist  
literature in the U.S. mails.

Since subscribing to this  
magazine I have received  
numerous pieces of obviously  
RED mail. Is this a  
communist publication?

When I subscribed I thought  
it was a publication to air  
the Republican political view.

Sincerely,

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/1/80 BY [signature]~~

100-443343-51

ENCLOSURE

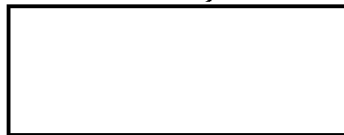
# Ramparts

*1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colorado 80302*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF



b6

b7C

~~SECRET~~

SAC, San Francisco (100-42399)

6/15/67

Director, FBI (100-3-104-47)

1 - Mr. Kleinkauf  
1 - Mr. Ryan

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(RAMPARTS)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

(S)

b1

Referral/Consult

(U)

The Bureau appreciates your suggestion and in the event the enclosures may be put to use by you, through referral to a cooperative news media source, to further develop a strong case indicating foreign influence of "Ramparts," you should submit your recommendations.

1 - Bufile 100-445393 (Ramparts)

Enclosures - 2

DR:scr (6)

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-1 JSC/6

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

NOT RECORDED

62 JUN 21 1967

DUPLICATE YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-104-47

Letter to SAC, San Francisco  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
100-3-104-47

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Referral/Consult

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 6/16/67

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS"  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

ReBulet to San Francisco, 5/18/67.

Enclosed herewith is report of SA [redacted]  
dated 6/16/67 concerning captioned publication.

It is recommended that this investigation be continued to trace the original source of funds transferred to "Ramparts" and to further identify the subversive backgrounds or foreign affiliations of "Ramparts" officers, Directors and staff.

Leads have been set out in enclosed report to accomplish this objective.

Reference is made to information recently developed by the New Haven Office and included on page 21a of enclosed report. From information developed, it would appear that the editorial offices and possibly printing operation of "Ramparts" will move to East Hartford. In the recent struggle for control of the publication between KEATING, who was the founder, and WARREN HINCKLE, the Editor, it appears that RICHARD RUSSELL had the determining power because of his access to or control of funds.

It is suggested that the New Haven Office, which is in a closer position, may make an analysis of the financial transactions reported on page 21a and set out any additional investigative leads.

It is also suggested that investigation of [redacted] background, which is currently being conducted in investigation of the Southern Conference on Christian Leadership case, be expedited and directed by the pertinency of [redacted] to the "Ramparts" investigation.

REC-55 100-445393-52

2-Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)  
1-New Haven (RM)  
1-San Francisco  
EJO:kah #9  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

JUN 19 1967

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DATE 7/17/80 BY [redacted]

INT. SEC.

51 JUN 28 1967

DATE: 02-14-201

FBI INFO.

CLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

REASON:

DECLASSIFY ON: 02-14-2036

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# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>6/16/67</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>5/22 - 8/15/67</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.</b>		REPORT MADE BY <div></div>	SET REVERSE SIDE FOR CLASSIFICATION ACTION
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C</b>	TYPED BY b6 b7C

Classified by ~~2909~~  
Exempt from GDS, Category ~~1~~  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION

INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
REGISTRATION

EXTENDED BY

REASON

FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW FOR

DECLASSIFICATION

REFERENCE: Bureau Letter to San Francisco

Deleted Copy Sent

by letter 1-19-76

ADMINISTRATIVE

Classified by

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Referral/Consult

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD  
OFFICES  
ADVISED

b1

Case has been Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☒ No, Pending prosecution over 6 months ☐ Yes ☒ No

APPROVED

REPORT MADE

SPECIAL AGENT  
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- 5-Bureau (100-445393) (RM)
- 2-Boston (RM)
- 2-Chicago (RM)
- 2-Denver (RM)
- 2-New Haven (RM)
- 2-New York (RM)
- 2-Los Angeles (RM)
- 3-San Francisco (157-459)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ACSI, OSI, OGC, R-1A
Request Recd	6-23-67
Date Fwd	6-23-67
How Fwd	1967

Notations

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Cover Page A, Page 16, 17, 18  
ORIGINAL DOCUMENT SENT TO  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES (JFKARCA)  
DATE 8-16-94

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Special Agents who provided information utilized in this report are identified as follows

Date of Activity

Special Agent

5/21/65

SA

[REDACTED]

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10/15/65

SA

3/3/66

SA

LEADS:

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. Furnish information identifying MARTIN PERETZ who was listed as Director of Ramparts and as a stockholder (see page 20) who solicited funds for Ramparts.

2. Furnish information on RICHARD A. RUSSELL (pages 19-22) a financial contributor to Ramparts and a member of the Board of Directors (page 34) who has business interests in Boston.

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS: Identify E. A. SALK and Salk, Ward and Salk, Inc., who transferred \$5,000 to Ramparts (see page 20).

DENVER

AT DENVER, COLORADO. Review registration statement of Ramparts Magazine, Inc. for Second Class mail privilege and report Publisher's statement on number and distribution of copies.

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2. Consider making discreet inquiry regarding nature of printing and distribution operation of Ramparts at Boulder, Colorado, and bank account at Boulder National Bank.

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA. Furnish identifying information regarding [redacted] (page 21a).

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NEW HAVEN

AT NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT: Furnish identifying data [redacted]

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK. Furnish identifying information on D. J. BERNSTEIN of Scarsdale, New York, and D. J. Bernstein Company, who was reported to have transferred \$50,000 to Ramparts (pages 19-20), and who was listed as a member of the Board of Directors (page 34).

2. Furnish identifying data for [redacted]

[redacted] (see pages 19-20)

3. Furnish information regarding Mankauf Realty (see page 21a).

4. Furnish current data on [redacted] Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation supplemental to that in instant report.

5. Identify Lincoln Web Offset Company, Farmingdale, New York, and determine if \$25,000 transferred to Ramparts was part of a commercial transaction or was a transfer of funds as a gift or loan.

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SAN FRANCISCO

AT SA. FRANCISCO CALIFORNIA: Continue to discreetly monitor accounts and activities of Ramparts to determine source of funds and foreign affiliations.

- H\* -  
COVER PAGE

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1,6)  
DATE 02-09-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to

Report of  
Date

6/16/67

Office

SAN FRANCISCO

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b7C

Field Office File # 157-459

Bureau File # 100-445393

Title

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character

INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis

Ramparts originated in 1962 as little magazine of liberal Catholic thought published by EDWARD M. KEATING. In 1965 it broadened its coverage and appeared as a monthly magazine and circulation increased from 7,500 to 223,730 as of March, 1967. In May, 1967, KEATING voted out as publisher and he filed suit for \$134,822 owed to him in loans and claimed he invested \$860,000 in magazine. WARREN HINCKLE, Editor, claimed that magazine operating at \$400,000 yearly loss. Identity of some of principal contributors set forth. Speeches and press conferences of Ramparts staff in opposition to Vietnam war reported. Subversive affiliations of Ramparts Directors and employees set forth. Contents of publication showing distortion and misrepresentation in its political reporting set forth.

DETAILS

DECLASSIFICATION

DECLASSIFICATION

This investigation was initiated to determine if Ramparts Magazine, Inc. is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 in that it has not registered with the Attorney General and may currently be engaged in acts of distribution of propaganda, acting as a political agent, collecting information, forwarding information, etc., while acting as the agent of a foreign principal.

BACK OF PAGE

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~~(5/24/86 SRA BTR/SCZ 11326)~~

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~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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FOI/PA #	247894
APPEAL #	
CIVIL ACT #	
E.O. #	12356
DATE	6/24/85
INITIALS	MS

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# I. OBJECT SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES

## A. History and Corporate Structure

Ramparts Magazine, Inc. is incorporated in California on September 11, 1961 with authorized capital of 50,000 shares at \$10 per value. Originally incorporated as Layman's Press Inc. and name was changed to Ramparts Magazine, Inc. by charter amendments in 1965. U

Dun and Bradstreet,  
San Francisco, 5/23/67

The February 19, 1967 issue of the New York World Journal - Tribune contained an article by MOFT-YOUNG staff member, captioned, 'Ramparts Proud of Dissent, Even Among Its Executives' which read in part as follows:

Ramparts was founded in 1962 as a Roman Catholic lay publication by publisher Ed. and V. Keating, 42. He thought of starting the magazine on a hot Sunday in August 1961 while listening to a Catholic radio program. 'By God' Keating remembered saying, 'I'm going to do it.' So he did.

'We started out defending Christianity. Now we seem to be attacking everything,' Keating commented. 'And now, instead of being Catholic we're catholic.'

Keating had no argument with the Supreme being, but what went against his grain was the church's attitude which he summed up as 'Either you accept it baby or you go to hell.' Keating loves the church, he said but saw 'grievous faults being committed by members of the church's corporate structure.'

'Circulation in those early days was about 7,500 and every issue looked to Keating as though it had been dipped into red ink. Now, at 75 cents a copy and 130,000 copies sold a month, the issues still look as though they are dipped in red ink to Keating. The magazine carries almost no advertising and often skips an issue. Keating, however, is wealthy. Along with seven others, he has \$1.2 million sunk into the publication.'

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The April 23, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Chronicle contained an article captioned, "Publisher of Ramparts Fired", which reads in its entirety as follows:

Edward J. Keating, wealthy Peninsula lawyer, writer, iconoclast and sometime politician, has been fired as president and publisher of Ramparts, the San Francisco-based magazine he founded and into which he poured \$860,000.

The action was taken Wednesday night by the magazine's board of directors and Keating promptly countered by demanding immediate payment of \$215,000 he says the publication owes him.

Out of the sound and fury emanating from Ramparts' normally frenetic editorial offices on lower Broadway, only two facts were not contested:

Keating was actually forced into 'inactivity' as Ramparts' president and publisher 18 months ago.

His functions were promptly taken over by his youthful executive editor, Warren Hinckle III, now 28, who converted Ramparts from a 'little magazine' of liberal Catholic thought, into one of the fastest-growing and most controversial journals in the country.

Hinckle contends that Keating would never have been removed by the magazine's board of directors if he had not attempted a 'coup', seeking resumption of financial control of the magazine.

Keating said he was forced to take action because the magazine's management 'failed to exercise fiscal and financial responsibility and . . . was endangering present and future investments.'

Hinckle and Keating agree that at no time was there any conflict over the editorial content of the magazine.

Ramparts, founded in May of 1962, hit the bottom of the financial barrel when its circulation hit about 20,000.

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Our new investors,' Linckle said, wanted younger editorial people to run the magazine.

The present average age of Ramparts' personnel is about 26. Keating is in his early 40's and the magazine's business staff (also fired with Keating Wednesday night) average about 49 or 50.

Keating, Linckle says, is the largest single stockholder in the corporation with about 30 per cent of the stock. Keating says his holdings are nearer 40 per cent.

With the magazine's circulation now somewhere between 200,000 and 250,000, Linckle said expenses are running around \$1.5 million a year. Stock in extent of \$1.2 million has been issued.

"It is Keating's contention that he was fired by an 'illegal' board of directors -- one that improperly expanded from 13 to 21 and therefore had no authority to oust him.

He has called a meeting of the magazine's shareholders for May 8, hopeful that the board's action will be rescinded.

"All this really saddens me," Linckle said. "I wish Keating had been happy as our honorary publisher and esteemed founder. This is a situation that distresses us all very much.

The May 7, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle contained an article captioned, "PRESS - Ramparts Breached" which read in part as follows: *W*

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"At a meeting of Ramparts' board of directors, in an air of what one participant called 'calm insanity,' Edward Keating, the magazine's founder and chief financial angel, was fired by a vote of 13-1. Only Keating voted to retain his services. u

"Said one board member: 'It was like the McCarthy hearings. He (Keating) kept saying "Point of order, Mr. Chairman" and things like that.' u

"Fiscal Problems u

"The move to oust Keating was apparently started by Warren Hinckle III, the editor, who 18 months ago, as part of a triumvirate which also included New Left ideologist Robert Scheer and artist and design expert Dugald Stermer, assumed effective control of Ramparts. u

"What apparently brought the matter to a head was a growing conviction by Keating that the board -- headed by Hinckle -- was financially irresponsible, what Keating called 'the inability of the company to practice budgetary controls.' u

"Two weeks ago, Keating asked Connecticut businessman Richard Russell, unpaid head of Ramparts' financial committee, if he and three staffers could fly east to discuss Hinckle's 'fiscal irresponsibility.' u

"Russell immediately notified Hinckle, who said that Keating was trying to sow dissension. The next day, three members of the business staff were fired. Then, five days later, came the board meeting and Keating's ouster. u

"An Old Shoe' u

"After the meeting, a bitter Keating threatened to file -- and later did -- a lawsuit to recover \$215,000 he claimed was owed him. u

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"I put \$860,000 into the magazine and they threw me out like an old shoe," he said. "That's the history of Ramparts -- when people are no longer financially important, out they go." u

"Ramparts was not out of the financial depths by any means, however. The magazine lost an estimated \$30,000 in March on a circulation of 228,730, and while this was half of what it lost per month a year ago, editor Hinckle estimated that the magazine would have to raise \$250,000 in the next nine months to carry it past the break-even point." u

The May 9, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Chronicle contained an article captioned, "Ramparts Picks New Directors", which read in its entirety as follows: u

"The bitter intramural struggle for control of Ramparts Magazine, the controversial San Francisco-based journal, was given yesterday into the hands of a new, and still unidentified board of directors, in a five-minute meeting. u

"Stockholders of the magazine, six there in person and another six represented by proxy, elected eight directors who had been nominated by the current management, headed by 28-year-old Warren Hinckle III. u

"Edward M. Keating, the 42-year-old Atherton attorney who started the magazine five years ago and was ousted last week as its president, nominated four new directors to sit with him. Keating, who poured more than \$800,000 into Ramparts, holds 42 per cent of the magazine's stock. u

"The new 13-member board, said Hinckle, will meet, probably later this week, to elect new officers. Names of the directors will be released then. u

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"Hinckle now holds the titles of vice president and 'acting chief executive' of the magazine."

"Keating's \$215,000 suit against Ramparts, filed last week has now been reduced to \$129,000 Hinckle said. Keating said the suit was over a loan he said he made to Ramparts."

"The conflict between Keating and Hinckle has no ideological base. It is, Hinckle said, a 'pure power struggle' over financing."

The May 14, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle contained an article captioned, "Kansas Prof Ramparts' Plans In Angel's Hands", which read in its entirety as follows:

"Ramparts magazine is getting a University of Kansas professor of history as a senior editor in charge of long-range projects, and along with him a chunk of new money.

"This was reported from Lawrence, Kan., yesterday and confirmed here by Warren Hinckle III, 28 year old editor of the publication.

"The new senior editor will be Frederick Mitchell who is reported to have put from \$200,000 to \$350,000 into Ramparts. Hinckle admitted that Mitchell has money in it, but would not say how much.

"'Yes, he is joining our staff,' Hinckle said, 'as a senior editor who will be concerned with long-range projects, those that may take as long as five or six months to develop.

"'I talked to him last night by phone. The story about him back there was obtained in a campus interview by the student newspaper. It's correct.'"

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"The interview quotes Michell as saying:

'It certainly could be said that I bought my way into the magazine. But they have tried to convince me -- and I have allowed myself to be convinced -- that the kind of understanding we have is outside any financial interest.'

"Ramparts recently made a national name for itself by revealing secret financing by the Central Intelligence Agency of student groups.

"Its founder is Edward M. Keating, wealthy Atherton attorney who put \$800,000 into the venture and who was ousted last month as president and publisher.

"Tonight Ramparts' new 13 directors will meet to thrash out policy and control problems. Eight of them are said to be backed by the present management and five by Keating.

"Mitchell is in his mid-twenties and went to Kansas after graduate work at the University of California in Berkeley. In his interview he said his grandfather, who died in 1962, left him the money.

"He had a chance to go with Ramparts earlier, he said, and under his present agreement with the magazine, his investment in it is based on Keating relinquishing some of his control.

'Keating doesn't have the sense of a story in a modern way,' Mitchell declared. 'I hope the magazine will stay free of labels and resist being called "the new left".'

"I want it to embrace those things in the so-called "conservative movement" as well as the radical world when it sees a higher moral purpose served by it.

"I want it to be as ready to listen to Barry Goldwater as well as William Fulbright.'

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The New York Times of February 20, 1967, contained a special report datelined San Francisco, February 19, 1967, and captioned, 'Ramparts Gadfly to the Establishment' which read in part as follows.

Mr. Hinckle, a pudgy six-footer with a flowing Edwardian mane of hair, is 28 years old and the editor of Ramparts, the splashy magazine that won front-page newspaper notice last week when it scooped itself.

"It bought advertisements which soon became news, to tell what its March issue would say about the Central Intelligence Agency's undercover relationship with the National Student Association.

"This was the latest in a series of publicity coups for Ramparts, which was founded in 1962 as a five-times-a-year journal aimed at liberal Catholic intellectuals.

'The magazine's conversion into a busy gadfly on the liberal-to-left side of politics began two years ago. Two business consultants (who have since become stockholders) recommended a change in direction. And Mr. Hinckle, whose first connection with Ramparts was as a public relations man was named editor.

'The consultants, Howard Gossage and Dr. Gerald M. Feigen, have a company here called Generalists, Inc. 'About a year and three quarters ago,' Dr. Feigen said the other day, 'they came to Howard and me to ask our advice. We told them that they should take an extra-environmental view.'

Mr. Hinckle put it this way: 'We decided,' he said, 'that we couldn't find enough liberal Catholics who wanted to read us, so when we went monthly from five issues a year, we wanted to be a magazine of opinions, but printed on good paper, with color and gloss rather than on cheap paper that made it all look cheap.'

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"We wanted to be kind of Catholic, kind of concerned about civil rights, kind of worried about lots of things."

#### "Founder's Sway Reduced"

"The rise of Mr. Hinckle appears to have coincided with a decline in the power of the magazine's founder, Edward M. Keating, a wealthy convert to Catholicism.

"Mr. Keating remains as publisher and as the largest stockholder. But the 100 per cent ownership that he held in the magazine's early years has been diffused.

"Mr. Hinckle owns something less than 10 per cent of the corporation, which he says he acquired as part of his compensation. The Gossage-Feigen combination has been paid in stock, although no one will say how much.

"And there are three stock blocks representing \$350,000 in new capital. Of this, Frederick C. Mitchell, now an assistant history professor at the University of Kansas at Lawrence, put up \$200,000 of money he had inherited, while he was a graduate student at Berkeley. Louis Honig, president of a San Francisco advertising agency, \$100,000, and Irving Laucks, an 85-year-old millionaire who is on the staff of the Center for Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, \$50,000.

#### "Getting Rid of Wars"

"The information on stockholding came from sources close to the magazine's board. Ramparts management is willing to identify stockholders but not to disclose the size of their shareholdings.

"Neither Mr. Mitchell nor Mr. Honig would discuss their holdings, Mr. Laucks spoke freely.

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"My specialty is getting rid of wars," he said. He invested in Ramparts, he said, because it could be effective in helping me in my specialty. It reminds me of Everybody's Magazine. Now there was a muckraker--and it did a lot of good."

"They are owners of a virtually bankrupt enterprise. Losses in the last year have been about \$400,000 and, according to sources close to the magazine, Mr. Keating alone might have dropped as much as \$750,000 in an effort to keep it afloat.

"According to Mr. Hinckle, Ramparts has lost about \$1.2 million over-all. He said the annual budget runs about \$1 million, of which about \$250,000 goes for printing and at least as much for promotion and advertising."

The June 7, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Examiner contained an article captioned, "Sunday 'Ramparts' Suspends Publication" which read in its entirety as follows:

'Publication of 'The Sunday Ramparts,' newspaper was suspended today by its editor, Warren Hinckle III.

'The eight-month-old offshoot of Ramparts Magazine, published in San Francisco, issued its final edition today.

'Sunday Ramparts began as an experiment and proved too successful,' Hinckle said.

"He said that in the eight-month period, circulation had reached over 20,000 but that it was losing money with every bi-weekly issue.

"As of today, when this last issue comes out, we're suspending publication," Hinckle said.

"Hinckle said that the newspaper never had a formal staff and that the magazine staff did the work for Sunday Ramparts. He said that the staff simply had too much to do getting out the magazine without the paper.

"Tentative plans are being made now, according to Hinckle to create a literary magazine or a daily newspaper sometime next year."

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### B. Circulation and Distribution

An article in the San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle, This World Section, page 16, concerning Ramparts reported that the circulation for this publication in March, 1967, was 228,730.

WARREN HINCKLE, Associate Editor, in an article on Ramparts which appeared in the April 3, 1967 issue of the National Observer, a weekly newspaper published in New York City, was quoted as saying that Ramparts had a circulation of a little over 200,000 which was double the circulation six months previously. He said that 130,000 of this figure were newsstand sales which was a fivefold increase within a year. They foresee a circulation of 400,000 to 500,000 within a year or so

[redacted] of Detroit, Michigan, a former Special Agent of the FBI, advised on December 22, 1966, that the address label on his subscription to Ramparts contained the identical mailing and subscription information, including the identical erroneous zip code number, under which he receives mail from the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, Suite 1103, 150 - Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

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At a meeting of the Sobell Committee in Room 1103, 150 - Fifth Avenue, New York City, on December 7, 1966, a discussion was held on the effectiveness of mailing lists used by the Committee. It was stated the Ramparts mailing list was one of the more profitable ones used in soliciting funds ~~(S)~~

SF T-1 [on 12/16/66] (S)(u)

A characterization of the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell is contained in the appendix.

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LIBERTY CIRCULATION CORPORATION

A source advised that the Liberty Circulation Corp. is the sole distributor for approximately 14 magazines, periodicals and books, with the magazine Ramparts being the most notable. This Corporation has sales to approximately 200 accounts throughout the Eastern part of the United States, and employs four full-time employees, plus eight commission salesmen covering the areas of New York, Boston, New Haven, Bridgeport, Philadelphia, Washington and Baltimore. THEODORE COHEN, President of Liberty Circulation Corp., related that he expected additional branch offices to be opened during 1967 in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and Florida.

The Liberty Circulation Corp. is located at 32 Union Square, New York City, and pays \$100 per month for rent and use of approximately 2,000 square feet. THEODORE M. COHEN is listed as Corporate President, Secretary and Treasurer, while ALAN PEZARO is reported as Vice President. The Corporation's Board of Directors is composed of LIONEL HEYMAN and other officers. The Corporation originated during 1965 as the T & G Distributing Company and its operation was directed by the same individuals who are currently responsible for the Liberty Circulation Corp. It incorporated under New York State law during August, 1966, with 200 shares of no par value common stock and \$10,000 starting capital derived from personal savings of the officers.

SF T-2 on 3/16/67

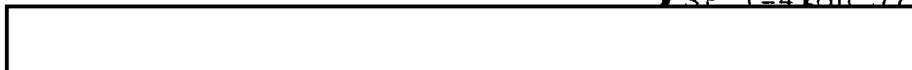


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SF T-3 on 7/30/65 and 11/16/65



SF T-4 on 7/5/65



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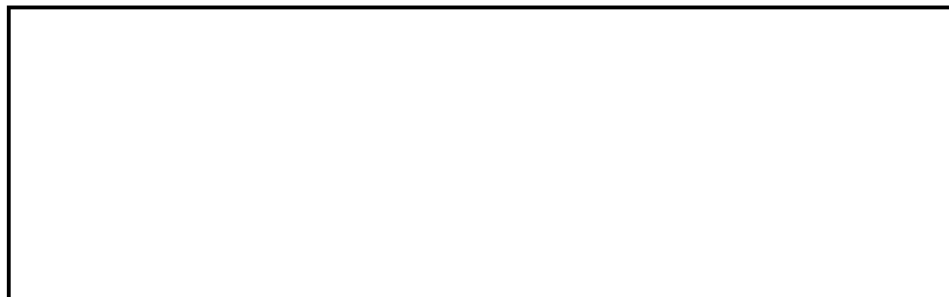
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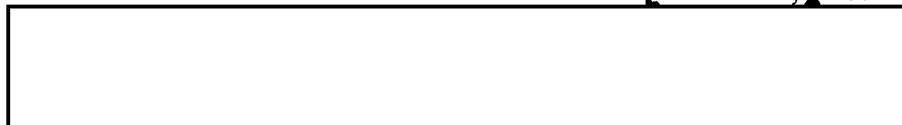
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[SF T-5, [10/9/63, 1/29/64]]



[SF T-6, [4/4/66]] (X)(u)



[SF T-6, [1/31/66]] (X)(u)

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C. Funds

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past on March 8, 1967, reported the following information: *LD*

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SF T-7, 3/8/67

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The May 5, 1967 issue of Time magazine's press section contained an article which read in its entirety as follows: u

"Fall of the Archangel" u

"Muckraking Ramparts magazine has uncovered dark plots all over the place -- in Dallas, in the CIA, in Michigan State University. Last week it discovered a plot in still another place -- Ramparts magazine. Early in the week three Ramparts employees were fired by Editor Warren Hinckle, who said darkly that they were 'plotting against the magazine and we couldn't allow that.' At week's end the conspiracy culminated in the removal by the board of directors of President and Publisher Edward Keating, who had started the magazine in the first place. u

"Keating and Hinckle had been at loggerheads for a long time. There were no ideological differences: both are doctrinaire leftists with a passion for disparaging U. S. policies and institutions. The disagreements were largely over money and approach. Keating, the magazine's financial archangel, charged his opponents with 'fiscal irresponsibility' and an 'inability to practice budgetary controls.' Circulation of the last issue was 228,730, more than half newsstand, but the magazine is still losing money at the rate of \$350,000 a year. Hinckle believes he can break even by raising another \$250,000 -- and without Keating. u.

"The Case of the Hollow Heel. Keating ran out of ready cash two years ago and tried to raise more money from other sources. His efforts failed to impress his editors. As they tell it, he once made a trip to Chicago to see if Playboy's Hugh Hefner could help. It took some doing just to see Hefner. 'He was always sleeping or swimming in his pool,' recalls Managing Editor Robert Scheer. When Keating finally got to Hefner, he drew a blank. By contrast, Hinckle and

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Scheer succeeded in selling stock to assorted wealthy sympathizers like Frederick C. Mitchell, a University of Kansas history professor, who has put \$300,000 into the magazine. u

"Hinckle also quarreled with Keating over story ideas. While Hinckle favored conventional exposes of the CIA and the Warren Commission Report, Keating proposed more offbeat investigations. He suggested sending an undercover man to Louisiana's Plaquemines Parish to poke around a rumored 'slave camp' for civil rights workers. Not only that charged a Ramparts man, he even wanted to equip the gumshoe with a hollow heel containing a compass -- so that he could find his way back again. u

"Keating let it be known that he has only begun to fight. Denouncing the board meeting that ousted him as 'illegal,' he called a stockholders' meeting for May 8 to present his case. He also demanded the return of a \$215,000 loan that he claims he made to Ramparts, threatens to go to court for the cash. 'I put \$860,000 into the magazine,' Keating said on television, 'and they threw me out like an old shoe. That's the history of Ramparts. When people are no longer financially important, out they go.' u

The February 24, 1967 issue of the San Francisco Examiner contained an article captioned, "'In Debt But Not Red' -- Ramparts", which read in its entirety as follows:

"A Ramparts magazine spokesman said today that the controversy-provoking magazine is in the red -- but it's not Red.

"Jim Colaianni, assistant publisher of the San Francisco-based monthly publication, replied to some questions raised by writer Carl T. Rowan in a Washington report in today's Examiner.

"To the question 'What, if any, relationship does Ramparts have to the International Union of Students?' Colaianni replied:

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"None whatever."

'Investors

"To the question 'What is the full story of Ramparts' financial backing?' he said the sole investors are publisher Edward M. Keating; Frederick C. Mitchell, assistant history professor at the University of Kansas; Louis Honig, president of the San Francisco advertising agency of Honig-Cooper & Harrington, and Irving Laucks, of the Santa Barbara Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

"Colaianni said Ramparts has received no funds from Communist agencies, has no Communist ties and does not contemplate accepting Communist money in the future...

"He conceded that the magazine has lost \$1.2 million in the five years of its existence, and did not deny a recent New York Times report that the 1966 deficit was \$400,000.

"Nor did he deny the Times statement that Keating himself has 'dropped' \$750,000 to keep Ramparts afloat.

"To Continue"

"However, Colaianni declared, Ramparts 'absolutely will continue to publish. . . we are not concerned with problems of survival.'

"He said the magazine's operating basis continues to improve, and the editors are confident it will pull out of its financial troubles.

"He declined to say what new sources of funds might be available for the future, beyond declaring that any such sources would not include the Communist Party."

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The records of the County Clerk, San Francisco, were checked on June 13, 1967, and reflected under Docket #578431 that a suit was filed in Superior Court, San Francisco, on May 2, 1967, by EDWARD M. KEATING against Ramparts Magazine, Inc. U

KEATING's suit claimed that Ramparts was indebted to him for \$215,028.33 for money lent. KEATING amended this complaint on May 8, 1967, at which time he claimed that \$134,822 was lent to Ramparts and that only \$5,000 had been repaid. U

Ramparts Magazine, Inc. filed an answer to this complaint on May 26, 1967, in which it denied that money received from KEATING was a loan, but stated that the amounts received from him were gifts or contributions to the capital of the corporation with right to receive shares of stock. U

During the period July, 1966 through May, 1967, Ramparts received part of their operating funds from the following sources: U

Date	Amount	Source
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Date	Amount	Source
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SF T-8 6/8-13/67

Source reported that

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SF T-7, 6/8/67

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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] U

[REDACTED] came to Connecticut from Newark,  
New Jersey in 1947 where he had been [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] U

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] U

SF T-9, 3/9/67

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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] The check was payable to Ramparts  
and endorsed by them and deposited in the account of Ramparts  
[REDACTED]  
previously. Ramparts then drew three checks in the amount of  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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A check was made by [REDACTED] to the MA:KAUF Realty,  
apparently in New York City, for [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] had tried to obtain a loan from the bank for  
Ramparts and stated that [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

SF T-9, 6/5/67

The records of the Town Clerk, West Hartford,  
Connecticut, were checked June 5, 1967, for [REDACTED] and under the  
name of D.R. Realty a mortgage was obtained from the [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] attorneys filed a mortgage deed made to Ramparts for a  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The original deal was made March 31, 1967. U

[REDACTED] made payment of [REDACTED] to  
Ramparts magazine on [REDACTED] U

SF T-10, 12/12/66

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VICTOR RABINOWITZ, attorney, was listed along with LEONARD B. BOUDIN, attorney, at 25 Broad Street, New York, New York, in the 1962 Manhattan Telephone Directory as subscribers to DI 4-5564. U

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LEONARD B. BOUDIN during the early 1940's was a concealed member of the CP and actively associated with CP front organizations.

LOUIS BUDENZ on  
6/21/50

VICTOR RABINOWITZ in 1961 was the only authorized signatory for the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, Inc. The Foundation receives funds from the L. M. Rabinowitz Company, Inc., and the following two bank accounts are affiliated with the Foundation: L. M. Rabinowitz Company, Inc., and the L. M. Rabinowitz Company, Inc. Profit Sharing Trust. VICTOR RABINOWITZ was the President of the L. M. Rabinowitz Company, Inc., and Trustee for the Profit Sharing Trust. U

SF T-11, 1/9/62

VICTOR PERLO, economist and columnist for The Worker and the People's World Communist Party newspapers on November 2, 1961, stated that he would like to prepare an economic survey of Puerto Rico and had contacted ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, CP functionary, to determine if funds were available for such a survey. TRACHTENBERG told PERLO that the RABINOWITZ family had a fund for such a purpose and that GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, had the key to it. TRACHTENBERG felt that if HALL was interested in the project, funds could be obtained. (X) ~~(S)~~ (u)

[SF T-12, 11/2/61] (X) (u)

VICTOR PERLO was the recipient of a check for \$600 dated November 7, 1961 and drawn on the account of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, Inc.

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D. Advertising Support

The April 8, 1967 issue of Human Events contained an article by H. M. MORTON which read in part as follows:

"Ramparts in the past year has run a full-page advertisement for the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America, named by the U. S. attorney general as a Communist-front group; an advertisement promoting the Draft Program of the 18th National Convention of the Communist party and a full-page ad for the Progressive Labor party, the national Communist group which follows the current outpourings from Peking. J

"In addition, for months the inside back cover has offered to sell a Scottish island, Inch Kenneth. The island belongs to Ramparts contributing editor Jessica Mitford, author of The American Way of Death, who is also known as Decca Treuhaft. Miss Mitford has been identified as a Communist party member by several witnesses testifying before congressional committees and in federal courts. JJ

"Perhaps the best identification, however, was provided in the Sept. 19, 1946 issue of the People's Daily World, which reported that she was the county financial secretary of the Communist Party of San Francisco and a member of the Twin Peaks Club of the CP. J

"In the interim Miss Mitford has belonged to more than a dozen officially cited Communist fronts, and as recently as January appeared in New York as a sponsor at a dinner honoring William L. Patterson, chairman of the National Negro Commission of the Communist party. She spoke and Gus Hall spoke. J

"Miss Mitford and her husband, attorney Robert Treuhaft of Oakland, were lionized in a Ramparts article last year, which portrayed them as signs of 'progressive development' in the area. Treuhaft

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himself has been named as a long-time Communist party member on numerous occasions by witnesses testifying under oath and was also the object of indisputable identification in the People's Daily World of April 29, 1946, which said he was a member of the Haymarket Club of CP, a cell set aside for lawyers."

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E. General Activities

Speeches and Press Conferences

On March 3, 1966, STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, held a press conference at the Hotel Algonquin, 59 West 44th Street, New York City, New York. The conference was held by Mr. SHEINBAUM in conjunction with Ramparts magazine. Represented at the press conference was CBS Television News, Associated Press and four unidentified publications. Also present at the conference was a Special Agent of the FBI, using a suitable pretext. U

Mr. SHEINBAUM advised the following: U

He was in Saigon working for the Diem Government from 1954 until 1959 as part of a Michigan State University team to help set up a government. Since that time he followed the Vietnam situation very closely. In the fall of 1965, he became interested in United States policy concerning Cambodia, especially with regard to the Ho Chi Minh Trail issue and the Viet Cong's alleged use of Cambodia for sanctuary. In February, 1966, after receiving permission from the Cambodian Government, he travelled there with his wife and ROBERT SCHEER of Ramparts magazine. After arriving there, he made numerous reconnaissance trips to observe the alleged Ho Chi Minh Trail. These trips were made via plane, jeep and foot. At no time during these reconnaissance trips could he discern any trail going in a north and south direction which could possibly accommodate supplies. U

At points designated as the Ho Chi Minh Trail on maps appearing in the American press, there is underbrush and some foot paths, but the area would be completely impractical for a supply line. He also spoke to numerous Cambodians in the area of the alleged Ho Chi Minh Trail and all denied having observed any activity or supply movements. He personally interviewed the French speaking natives of the area, but used interpreters for others. He feels, as a result of his investigation, he can say there is no such thing as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. He further stated that Route 19 which runs East and West could definitely not be used as a supply line, since the terrain is such that a

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jeep could not get through and it is cut off from Cambodia by a blown up bridge. The bridge is approximately five miles short of Cambodia. U

Mr. SHEINBAUM was accompanied on his reconnaissance trips and his interviews by Cambodian civil governors or military commanders. He personally directed the reconnaissance, however, and was not denied access to any areas during his investigation. He also claims the Australian Ambassador accompanied him several times and he concurred with him in his findings. The Cambodian Government also held a four hour Cabinet meeting for him wherein they expressed their desire for neutrality. U

As a result of the aforementioned, Mr. SHEINBAUM feels that the Ho Chi Minh Trail issue has been manufactured by the United States Government to prepare the American people for a war with Cambodia. The United States has provided no actual evidence that there is actually such a trail and no formal charges have been made by the United States against Cambodia. There is no reason why the United States should be hostile toward Cambodia although he admits the Viet Cong have probably been using the Cambodia border for sanctuary. He claims the Cambodian Government does not condone this, but there is very little they can do since it is impossible to perfectly police the border. U

When asked by a member of the press exactly how supplies were reaching the Viet Cong, he stated that he felt most were coming by sea to the Mekong Delta area. U

Mr. SHEINBAUM stated that the Cambodian Government does not feel China is a threat to them, but they do fear Vietnam and Thailand. They make no distinction between North and South Vietnam and while they sympathize with the Viet Cong, they render them no aid. They claim that Thailand has been hostile toward them for years as they have been having border disputes for a long time. Cambodia claims that Thailand has been trying to claim eight Cambodian provinces when they were actually given three such provinces by the French; in so doing they have been committing constant acts of aggression. U

Referral/Consult

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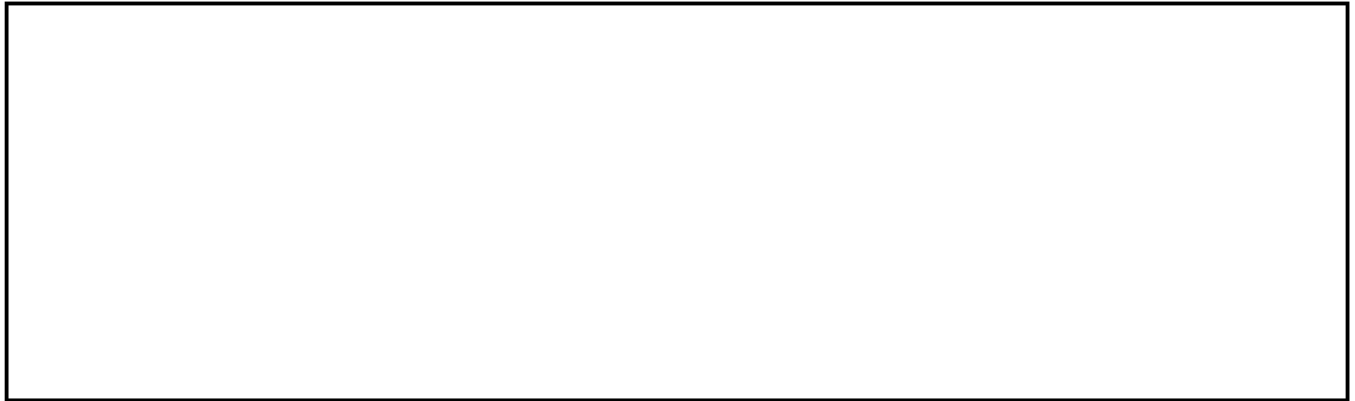
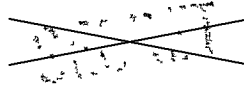
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Referral/Consult



Mr. SHEINBAUM also referred to a map of Vietnam appearing in a recent edition of Life Magazine. He stated that the Ho Chi Minh Trail as depicted on the map was completely erroneous. He spoke to the correspondent responsible for the map; the correspondent had not actually seen the terrain but based the map on photographs and other such information.

In view of his investigation and the fact that the United States has never offered any evidence that the trail actually exists, Mr. SHEINBAUM stated that the map was in complete error.

In attendance at the meeting were MARC STONE of Ramparts Magazine who introduced Mr. SHEINBAUM to members of the press, and DONALD DUNCAN, former Special Forces master sergeant, who has recently returned from Vietnam and made statements about American atrocities there.

On Thursday, March 3, 1966, a meeting sponsored by the magazine Ramparts was held at Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City. The meeting was scheduled for 8:15 p.m. and started very close to this time. The admission was \$1.80 which included a three months subscription to the magazine Ramparts.

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There were quite a large number of people outside the hall before the meeting. Many groups were passing out throwaways. U

The program was printed on the ticket, but the ticket was collected as the application for the magazine was on the ticket. The program as printed on the ticket was: U

Chairman: I. F. STONE  
M/Sgt. DONALD DUNCAN

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM, Economist, who is with the Center for Democratic Studies. U

JEAN LACOUTURE, who was with the French in Vietnam before the French lost control. U

Mr. SHEINBAUM was the first speaker. Mr. SHEINBAUM had gone to Cambodia on February 3, 1966, with ROBERT SCHEER. He was also in Saigon for three days. He said he went to Cambodia to check first hand on reports that Cambodia was being used as a staging area for the Viet Cong. He said he found that these reports were untrue. The major theme of his remarks was that we were not getting accurate reporting from the war in Vietnam. U

Miss LEVINSON read Mr. LACOUTURE's statement who could not be present. He reviewed the French role in their war with the Vietnamese and his beliefs on why they lost. The main reason is they did not have the people with them. U

The next speaker was Mr. I. F. STONE, a Washington correspondent. He said the war runs contrary to American principles because the people are fighting a war for what they feel is a better country, and that it was not true that if the Viet Cong won it would mean that it would have repercussions in other countries. What happens in other countries is not decided by what happens in Vietnam. U

The principal speaker of the evening was M/Sgt. DONALD DUNCAN. Sergeant DUNCAN fought in Vietnam as a member of the "Green Berets". U

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His principal points were that the populace was not with the Vietnam forces and the U. S.; that the N.L.F. was the major military group we are fighting and that we would have to talk to the N.L.F. and these discussions would have to start with the idea of getting out; that we would have to align ourselves with the people and not governments.

He said protests were effective, but were not enough. He felt that voting was the most effective protest. He said that the people should back candidates who will be representative of their feelings on the subject of war. He ended his talk with the declaration that he loved his country, but that we would have to get out and get out now.

SF T-13, 3/7/66

The March 9, 1967 issue of The Daily Idahonian, Moscow, Idaho, contained an article captioned, "Publisher Scores Vietnam War, Urges U.-S. To Leave", which stated in its entirety as follows:

"A 'simple' solution to the Vietnam war was offered yesterday by 'Ramparts' magazine publisher Edward M. Keating.

"Get out. Instead of unloading ships at Saigon, load them; stop the bombing; he said in three appearances and an interview on the University of Idaho campus.

"He recognized the internal strife that might follow, but called the loss of life from continued war 'worse'.

"In the course of offering solution to the war and commenting on American society, he issued strong indictments against subjects from Cardinal Spellman and Bobby Kennedy to the 'radical middle class.'

"Keating took note of Drew Pearson's column of March 3, hinting a CIA Castro assassination plot backfire as basis for the assassination of President Kennedy. Of the New Orleans JFK investigation, he adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

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"Branding the war illegal and immoral, Keating decried the loss of American life in Vietnam and destruction of the country.

"It was a civil war before we stepped in, the magazine publisher contended. There were no North Vietnam troops in South Vietnam until the United States intervened. We're violating the Geneva Accord of 1954, in fact, our own Constitution, with this executive war, he maintained.

"There is nothing to negotiate aside from the removal of our troops from Vietnam soil, he claimed. When you catch a thief in your house with \$100 of yours, you don't negotiate how much of the money he will keep, only how he will get out.

"The same is true in Vietnam, Keating said. For this negotiation, we must recognize and deal with both the National Liberation Front and Hanoi.

"Concerning Vietnam war progress, he indicated a fear of further escalation. Keating observed 'corrections' of U. S. loss figures as indications that the American public is being prepared for step-up of the war, even North Vietnam invasion.

"Right now, he commented, we hold less land than the French did in 1954. Yet we have 500,000 men in Vietnam. North Vietnam has 50,000 men across the line, he said.

"They've made the Vietnam war into a 'holy war', he complained. Actually, our policy there is 'suicidal,' Keating said.

"Keating called Cardinal Spellman the most 'obscene' man he has observed. He's so powerful, he can establish his 'holy war' and 'put the Pope down.'

"Keating, a Roman Catholic, declined to castigate Protestants. Let them take care of their own, he commented with a smile.

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'It is difficult to understand, he pointed out, how we can become so involved in a civil war in a little patch of Asia, when we apparently show no concern over Castro sitting 90 miles off of our shores.

"Keating, whose appearances included a dinner-discussion at the UI, a talk last night at Washington State University, a half-hour on KUID-TV, drew an overflow coffee-meet crowd at the Blue Room of the UI SUB. The session was moved to the larger Dipper in the basement of the SUB.

"Bobby Kennedy's appeal for a bombing halt in Vietnam was encouraging because it indicates political advantage believed in being anti-Vietnam war, Keating said. Bobby is ruthless in his ambition, the publisher observed, therefore there is hope in the fact he took this course.

"It is the 'radical middle class' who must be awakened, Keating said. They are secure in their home, family, income, jobs, pleasures, and will kill to keep them. If they are aroused, the war can be ended.

"Whether or not you agree with my opposition to the war, he told students, make your voices known.

"While skirting a call for civil disobedience, he observed that the Boston Tea Party was an act of 'beatniks' aroused over injustice. They even wore beatnik (Indian) costumes, he remarked.

"Placards, parades, vigils, demonstrations, even letters to Congressmen and Presidents all have their part in making known opposition to the war, he advised. Opinion, made visible, was the mainstream of his advice. If you do not know, he said, there is no better atmosphere than a university in which to investigate.

"On the CIA, Keating said the magazine had not solicited the story of its infiltration into the

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National Student Assn. In fact, when Mike Wood first told us of it, we were skeptical. But, the further we checked, the more truth we saw. That's how the story developed, he said.

"The CIA is a symbol of the encroachment on our private lives, Keating said. Both the CIA and FBI are contradictions in the framework of a free society, he maintained.

"The tragedy is that when we corrupt our youth, such as attempted by the CIA in the NSA case, we corrupt our future, Keating stressed.

"First we get a few youths to agree to do something patriotic for their country. Then we swear them to secrecy with signed oath that brings jail if violated. Then they go to work for the 'firm', unable to tell even their own parents about their activities. Is this the society we want in America, he asked.

"Keating called the Supreme Court the only protection still remaining against invasion of private life. While advocating open state efforts improving the lot of citizens, he castigated the 'radical middle' for accepting medicare so old folks can be moved out, and will no longer be burdens.

"Keating was critical in the increase of power, through budgeted money, of the executive branch. We can't even comprehend the billions involved, he warned.

"Ramparts started as a magazine for the Roman Catholic intellectual and independent, the publisher reported. Now, I believe we have become more of catholic with a small 'c'. In answer to a question, he impishly said the Roman Catholic Church is probably happy the magazine has 'evolved' to other fields instead of devoting most of its time to views of the church.

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"During his UI appearance; he formally and informally acknowledged he was incorrectly informed the campus was all conservative. At one point, he observed there was a sprinkling of beards around the audience, and at another point, he addressed a young man with full head of hair in a dimly lit corner of the room as, 'Mam'.

"Keating is currently on a speaking tour preparing backing for a 15th of April Mobilization Committee meeting to end the Vietnam war."

The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is an ad hoc committee representing many groups which planned massive demonstrations in New York and San Francisco on 4/15/67.

The February 10, 1967 issue of The Daily Cardinal, campus newspaper of the University of Wisconsin, reported that ROBERT SCHEER, Editor of Ramparts, spoke at the Social Science Building of the University of Wisconsin on Thursday, February 9, 1967. In an article by PETER ABBOTT, News Editor, captioned, "Scheer Hits 'Mythology' of U. S. Anti-Communism", he was reported to have said, "Anti-Communism is what holds American people together, not the Judaeo-Christian ethic." SCHEER was reported to have urged his listeners to "support the Viet Cong, or National Liberation Front. . . given the fact that they are the only ones standing up to the American 'intrusion' over there". SCHEER was quoted as saying that it is not the North Vietnamese who have shown "bad faith" in efforts to negotiate, "but us". He said that they have already offered concessions "even though it is we who are bombing them". SCHEER said that Russian and Chinese foreign policies, before and after the death of STALIN, "have been essentially conservative and not aggressive".

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## II. OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

The June, 1967 issue of Ramparts listed the following Directors and officers:

### Board of Directors

D. de JERSEY GRUT

EDWARD M. KEATING

G. H. FEIGL

FREDERICK C. MITCHELL

DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN ✓

MARTIN PERETZ

JUNE OPPEN DEGUAN

ELEANOR JACKSON PIEL

~~ROBERT FRASER~~

MARCUS RASKIN

CARLTON B. GOODLETT

RICHARD RUSSELL

HOWARD GOSSAGE

ROBERT SCHEER

WARREN HINCKLE III

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM

LOUIS MONIG

DUGALD STERNER

JOSEPH IPPOLITO

MARC STONE

### Editor

WARREN HINCKLE III

### Art Director

DUGALD STERNER

### Managing Editor

ROBERT SCHEER

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Assistant Managing Editor

SOL STERN

### Senior Editors

GENE MARINE and DAVID WELSH

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III. STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

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A promotional mailing soliciting subscriptions to Ramparts received on October 17, 1966, described the magazine in part as follows:

"Ramparts is the new, exciting monthly magazine that is doing something about it. And expresses its concern in a fiercely independent, refreshing fashion that has in turn alarmed, outraged and delighted readers across the country.

"Ramparts probes, analyzes, dissects -- with often stunning candor -- those elements of society that tend to artificially separate men. Ghettos are ghettos, whether they be economic, social, political, cultural or religious. Ramparts is dedicated to breaking down those walls, and to building up the things that unite men -- literature, the arts, philosophy, the power of ideas that raise the mind and unfreeze the heart.

"Ramparts takes no doctrinaire positions. It points out alternatives. It exposes hypocrisy. It dares to ask why."

[SF T-14, 10/17/66 (X)(u)]

The February 19, 1967 issue of the New York World - Journal - Tribune contained an article captioned, "Ramparts Proud of Dissent, Even Among Its Executives", which stated in part as follows:

"Ramparts is an independent, liberal magazine of dissent, Colaianni said. 'We called for U. S. withdrawal from Viet Nam when no one else did, condemned President Johnson for sending troops to the Dominican Republic, urged admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and believe President Kennedy's assassination was the result of a conspiracy,' he explained.

"'We are anti-CIA. That's our policy', Colaianni continued during a telephone interview. 'How do you like the impact of that CIA story? Right up to the White House.'"

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The October 2, 1966 issue of The Sunday Ramparts contained the following under "Editorials", which read in its entirety as follows:

"This Newspaper

"This newspaper was written, edited and printed in two days and two nights last week after three editors of Ramparts magazine, over a late morning Irish Coffee at Enrico's Cafe, decided that it was highly ridiculous that the Bay Area did not have a newspaper of reasonable independence and calibre, and therefore they decided to produce only by the weekend.

"The Sunday Ramparts is an example of what such a newspaper could be. If the citizens of the Bay Area wish it to continue, they should subscribe. A device for this purpose appears on page three.

"If the editors do not view the response to this trial issue as large or enthusiastic enough, we will forget the whole idea. If the response is sufficient, we will make every attempt to put together a competent staff and continue to publish.

"We do not embark on this project with any Hearstian visions of empire. We are already over-worked at Ramparts, but, as we said, we think it is outrageous that the Bay Area does not have a newspaper honestly and effectively reporting the news and serving the liberal, radical and artistic interests of the community. The Sunday Ramparts is an attempt to do just that. At the very least, it shows what could and should be done".

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The New York Times of February 20 1967, contained a special report datelined San Francisco, February 19, 1967, and captioned, "Ramparts: Gadfly to the Establishment", which read in part as follows:

'Mr. Hinckle sees the editorial product in these terms:

'We want to take a very critical look at all the major American institutions. This month it's the C.I.A. One of these days it will be the labor movement, which is moribund and lethargic. Then there's the literary establishment. We want to raise the facts to sharpen debate.'

"He balked at accepting the designation of Ramparts as a voice of the 'New Left'. The term, he said, refers to an amorphous collection of people with no complete agreement on anything.

"'We have no connection with university activists, for example,' he said. 'Our basic position is that in this country there is a lack of free and stimulating debate that is based on fact.'

"In their magazine, the crusade against American involvement in Vietnam is carried on.

#### "First Big Splash

'Ramparts scored the first big publicity splash of the new editorial regime--a story that fell in impact somewhere between their Michigan State story of last April and their current revelations about the C.I.A.--when they printed a story last February by a former Special Forces sergeant who had served in Vietnam and who said that he had been taught methods of torture.

'Last month the magazine, after saying that it would 'document' the killing or wounding of a million children in Vietnam, printed a series of pictures of terribly burned children who, it said, were the victims of napalm dropped by American airplanes.

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"Subsequently a group was formed in New York to raise money to bring such children to the United States for treatment. Marc Stone is working for this group.

"One of the magazine's directors, Martin Peretz, an instructor in social studies at Harvard University, suggested how, in a sense, the unpopularity of the war could help explain some of the popularity of the magazine.

"The independent liberals are aghast at the drift of American politics," he said. "They look to Ramparts as a muckraker who will give them facts. The 'turn-on' for a guy like me was this war and the fact that nobody gave us much of the real opposition to it. You know, political power is forced to be responsive to the electorate but opinion power is irresponsible. Ramparts will fill that need left vacant by the old-line opinion magazines."

"Sometimes 'Smart Alecky'

"But Mr. Peretz, who describes himself as 'sort of an absentee intellectual for the rest of the board,' did not give the magazine 'entirely plus marks. Sometimes, he said, he found it 'smart alecky' and offensive 'in that San Francisco 'hippy' sort of way.'

"The San Franciscans who dominate its operation have big plans for their enterprise.

"We're trying to build a media complex," explained Dr. Feigen, one of the men who helped broaden Ramparts' thrust beyond its Catholic-oriented beginnings. "We have a magazine and a weekly newspaper (Sunday Ramparts, with 15,000 paid circulation) and we want an advertising agency, a book publisher and we've got into a UHF television application."

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IV. SUBVERSIVE RAMIFICATIONS

A. Subversive Affiliations of Directors and Employees ~~SECRET~~

JUNE OPPEN DEGNAN  
Director

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[redacted] born [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] in  
an application filed for a position with the  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

In October, 1945, [redacted] stated that  
she was going to a dinner party at [redacted]  
near where she [redacted] used to live and that  
the purpose of the dinner party was to [redacted]

(S) (u) ~~(S)~~  
[SF T-15, 10/19/45] (S) (u)

[redacted] in 1943 and 1944 was in frequent  
contact with GREGORY KHEIFETS, who was identified  
by AMADEO SABATINI, former Soviet espionage  
agent, now deceased in September, 1948, as a  
Soviet espionage agent operating in the United  
States. (S) (u)

\* [SF T-16, 1943-44] (S) (u)

On June 26, 1946, [redacted] admitted  
to Agents of the FBI that in the early part of  
1943 he had attempted to solicit classified  
information from Dr. J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER  
regarding the U. S. atomic installation at the  
University of California for the benefit of the  
Soviet Union. (S) (u)

[redacted] in 1943 was a member of the  
Professional Section of the San Francisco County  
CP and in 1944 was [redacted]  
Northside Club of the San Francisco County CP. (S) (u)

[SF T-17, 1943-44] (S) (u)

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GEORGE AUGUST OPPEN, JR., in 1952 was considered to be the "titular head" of the CP, USA group in Mexico. (S) (X) (K) (u) [SF T-18, 1952] (K) (u)

On January 22, 1943, [redacted] telephonically contacted the FBI Office in San Francisco and stated that she was a [redacted]

[redacted] stated that she wanted her dramatization to be a "blueprint of fascism as it has worked in the United States." [redacted] requested material from Bureau files concerning these organizations. (S) (X) (K) (u)

[redacted]  
[redacted] (S) (X) (K) (u)

[SF T-19, 10/5/43] (S) (X) (K) (u)

[redacted]  
[redacted] had applied for a position with the [redacted] on February 5, 1944, at which time she specifically requested to be assigned to the [redacted] section. When her application was disapproved, [redacted] reappeared once with her attorney and again without her attorney requesting an appointment to any section at all, [redacted] or otherwise. According to [redacted] her request was never granted. (S) (X) (K) (u)

The April 30, 1963 issue of the San Francisco Chronicle contained a news article captioned, "Bay Woman Robbed of \$42,000", which story was datelined New York and reported the theft of \$42,000 worth of jewelry from the fashionable apartment of JUNE OPPEN DEGNAN in New York City. (S) (X) (K) (u)

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This article described JUNE OPPEN DEGNAN as a San Francisco art patron who was the publisher of the San Francisco Review, a literary quarterly. It was also reported that she proposed to build a tall apartment house the prior year atop Russian Hill on Vallejo Street, but neighbors' protests caused her to sell her property for about \$600,000. New York detectives who investigated the theft said that they could find no indication that anyone forced their way into the DEGNAN apartment in the Hampshire House on Central Park South. U

The April 30, 1966 issue of the San Francisco Examiner contained a news story reporting the above-described \$42,000 gem theft. This article described DEGNAN as a local member of the international set, and a 50-year-old divorcee who has been prominent both socially and in civic enterprises. It is stated that she was one of the leaders in the effort to create the San Francisco Film Festival and that she had a king-size quarrel with the San Francisco Planning Commission in an effort to build a proposed 19-story, \$3,200,000 apartment building on the slopes of Russian Hill. U

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GERALD M. FEIGEN

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GERALD M. FEIGEN was listed as a member of the Board of Directors in the June, 1967 issue of Ramparts. U

During the course of another investigation concerning a relative of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] U

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] U

He said that he did not want to indicate that [REDACTED] was disloyal to the United States in any way, but that he was continuously for the underdog, interested in unions and their activities for betterment of the working class, and interested in both senators and congressmen who were known liberals. U

He said that over the years he had discussed many world problems with [REDACTED] and in the past [REDACTED] had indicated that among other things he favored the Loyalists in Spain against FRANCO. He said that he believed that [REDACTED] was not for communism in any sense, but was [REDACTED] against dictatorship. He advised that [REDACTED]

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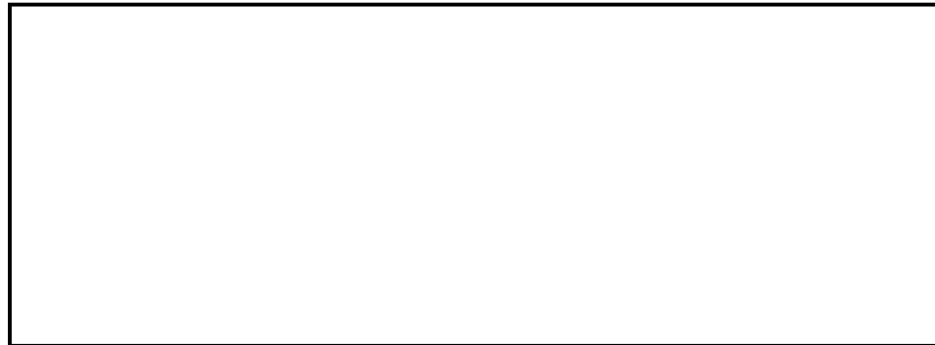
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is of Jewish descent and therefore, was also extremely anti-HITLER. [redacted] had also commented to him, [redacted] that he was against STALIN and communism because of the dictatorial system itself.

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[redacted] stated that to the best of his knowledge [redacted] has never expressed any anti-American or subversive thoughts, and never subscribed to any publications which were subversive in nature. He said that he had no reason whatsoever to question the loyalty of [redacted] to the United States in any way.

[redacted] name was maintained in the financial records of the Communist Party in San Francisco in 1946. Source could not advise if [redacted] had made any contributions to the Communist Party.

[SF T-20, [10/9/46] (S)(u)]

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CARLTON BENJAMIN GOODLETT

"The Sun-Reporter" for March 12, 1966, set forth the following biographical data for CARLTON GOODLETT, who is the Publisher and Editor of that publication. This biographical data was set forth in connection with GOODLETT's candidacy for nomination as Democratic candidate for Governor of California in the June, 1966 primary election.

"CARLTON B. GOODLETT, Ph.D., M.D., born in Chipley, Florida, on June 23, 1914."

"Education: Graduated from Howard Kennedy Grade School 1927 (Omaha); Central High School 1931 (Omaha); Howard University, Washington, D.C. (B.S. in 1935); University of California (Ph.D. in Psychology, 1938); Meharry Medical College (M.D. in 1944)."

"Editor and Publisher, 'San Francisco Sun-Reporter'"

"Director, National Newspaper Publishers Association"

"President, San Francisco Foundation to Study Our Schools"

"Director, Supreme Life Insurance Company of America, Chicago, Illinois"

"Member, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce"

"Member, San Francisco Press Club"

"Member, Board of Directors, San Francisco Bay Area Council, Boy Scouts of America"

"Former President and Executive Board Member, San Francisco NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)"

"Trustee, The Third Baptist Church, San Francisco, California"

"Director, San Francisco Town Club"

"Member, Society of Sigma XI"

"Member, American Society of African Culture"

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- "Member, National Committee on Africa
- "Vice Chairman, North California Committee on Africa
- "Participant, American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa
- "Chairman, California Negro Leadership Conference
- "Chairman of the Board, Beneficial Development Group, Inc.
- "President, Reporter Broadcasting Company
- "Director, Golden Gate Chapter of American Red Cross, San Francisco
- "Organizer, Fillmore Democratic Club, San Francisco, 1945 (oldest neighborhood Democratic Club)"

The Bulletin of the World Council of Peace, an official publication of the World Council of Peace, in its May 1966 issue #4, announced that the World Council of Peace session would be held in Geneva, Switzerland, June 13-16, 1966, in the city's Municipal Congress Palace, Palace Chateaubriand. The Bulletin of the World Council of Peace for July 1966, #6, on page 3 sets forth that one of the speakers at the plenary session was Dr. C. GOODLETT of the USA who was one of the 49 speakers who spoke at the Geneva, Switzerland, session.

A confidential source abroad advised in July 1966 that [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] (S) (S) (S)

[SF T-21, July, 1966] (S) (u)

See Appendix section for characterization of World Peace Council.

The "New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York City, in its November 15, 1966, issue under the title "Let Us Act Together to Bring Peace in Vietnam" published a full page advertisement. It charges the United States with disregarding the Geneva

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Agreement of 1954 and calls for the cessation of American bombing in North Vietnam. Names of people from 73 countries joined in the advertisement accusing the United States of provoking a wider war in Vietnam and appealing for the withdrawal of American troops.

The "New York Times" set forth that the advertisement was prepared and placed by WALTER DIEHL of the International Institute for Peace located in Vienna, Austria. The paper in its article regarding the full page advertisement set forth that "Payment for the advertisement, which cost \$6,000, was received from Dr. CARLTON B. GOODLETT, a physician, and publisher of 'The Sun-Reporter', a Negro weekly in San Francisco."

A meeting of the County Committee of the CP of Santa Clara County was held in San Jose, California, on March 29, 1966.

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SF T-22  
4/1/66

On January 15, 1947, [redacted] was discussed at a meeting of the Dewey Davis Branch of the Professional Section, San Francisco County CP. The discussion ended with the conclusion that even though [redacted] did not attend many meetings of the Branch, he would be continued on the rolls of the CP because of the amount of work he did on the outside.

SF T-23  
1/24/47

The September 3, 1966 issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" contained a news article which announced that Dr. CARLTON B. GOODLETT was being sued for divorce by his wife, WILLETTE HILL GOODLETT. The suit said the couple were married November 27, 1942 in Nashville, Tennessee and separated April 27, 1957. She listed community property in the neighborhood of \$1 million and asked for an equitable division as well as \$2,000 monthly alimony and \$300 a month support of their 16 year old son, GARY.

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GENE MARINE, SENIOR EDITOR

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GENE MARINE was one of the guest speakers at the 25th Anniversary celebration for the "Peoples World" in San Francisco on February 3, 1962.

[SF T-24  
2/5/62] (X)(u)

The "Peoples World" (PW) is the West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

GENE MARINE in October, 1964, was offered a position on the editorial staff of the "Peoples World" for a short term. MARINE expressed interest in working for the "Peoples World", but accepted another higher paying position before the PW employment was started. (S)(u)

[SF T-25  
10/22/64] (S)(u)

GENE MARINE attended a public meeting sponsored by the National Guardian in San Francisco on February 14, 1964. Approximately 750 people were present to hear FELIX GREENE speak on his travel to China. GENE MARINE gave the collection speech at this meeting.

[SF T-26  
2/20/64] (X)(u)

See Appendix for characterization of National Guardian.

GENE MARINE attended a meeting of the W. E. B. Du Bois Club in San Francisco on August 27, 1964.

[SF T-26  
9/3/64] (X)(u)

See Appendix for characterization of W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America.

GENE MARINE on December, 1966, was a subscriber to the PW.

[SF T-27  
12/19/66] (X)(u)

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Payroll  
Department, UCB, made available to IC [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] on June 5, 1967, information that  
[REDACTED] date of birth  
[REDACTED] Social  
Security Number [REDACTED] last residence  
[REDACTED] had been  
employed by the [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] his next of kin was listed  
as [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Registrar's Office, UCB,  
advised IC [REDACTED] on June 7, 1967, that

[REDACTED]

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Records of the [redacted]  
[redacted] were  
checked by SE [redacted] May 24, 1967,  
and a satisfactory record was located for  
[redacted] and his wife, [redacted]  
who were then living at [redacted]  
[redacted] At that time,  
they maintained a commercial (checking) account  
at the Wells Fargo Bank, 9800 San Pablo Avenue,  
El Cerrito, California. [redacted]  
was listed as [redacted]  
[redacted] The records also  
reflect that a credit check was made for [redacted]  
[redacted] in November, 1962, while they were  
living at [redacted] at which  
time he was listed as [redacted]  
[redacted] and maintained both a commercial and savings  
account at [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] The  
record also showed a previous address at [redacted]  
[redacted] He  
declined to state his income in 1961. He listed  
a previous bank reference at the [redacted]  
[redacted] which was opened in  
September, 1951.

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ELEANOR JACKSON PIEL

ELLANOR JACKSON PIEL, listed as a member of the Board of Directors of Ramparts magazine, is also, along with her husband, GERARD PIEL, on the Board of Trustees of the Institute for Policy Studies. GERARD PIEL is also one of the founders and presidents of the magazine, Scientific American, and of Scientific American, Inc. The relationship between Ramparts magazine, the Institute for Policy Studies, the Scientific American and the Scientific American, Inc. is not known.

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ELEANOR JACKSON PIEL is a member of the law firm of MARSHALL PERLIN and ARTHUR KINOY, Attorneys for MORTON SOBELL, who is serving a prison sentence for conspiring with JULIUS ROSENBERG and others to provide U. S. national defense information to the Soviets. ELEANOR PIEL, as a member of this law firm, was connected with the effort to obtain information concerning SOBELL provided by Dr. JULIUS KLAUS FUCHS, the "atom spy" arrested by the British. This request reportedly was

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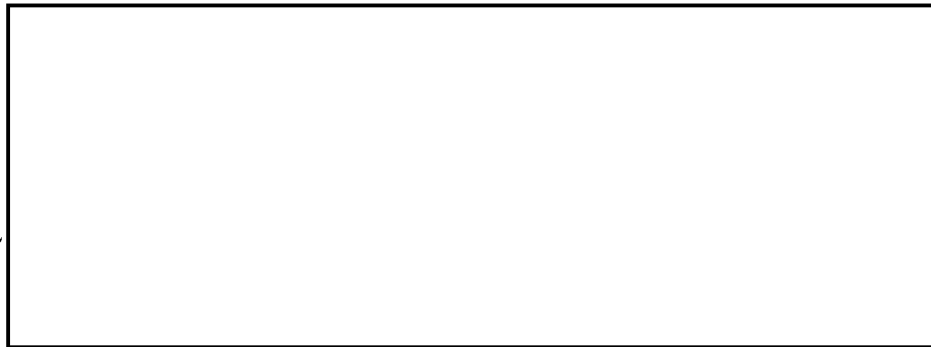
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channelized through SIDNEY SILVERMAN, an MP who was the legal representative in England for the law firm of MARSHALL PERLIN and ARTHUR KINOY. An interview of FUCHS by MARSHALL PERLIN and ARTHUR KINOY was successfully conducted through these efforts. U



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GERARD PIEL was identified by the former Communist and Soviet espionage agent WHITTAKER CHAMBERS as a leader of a group of three or four Communist sympathizers with Time magazine who left Time to become editors of the Scientific American magazine. CHAMBERS identified LEON SVIRSKY, Managing Editor of Scientific American in 1951, as a member of a Communist cell at Time about 1940. U

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DONALD ROTHENBERG

DONALD ROTHENBERG was listed in "Ramparts" as Assistant to the Publisher from December, 1966 through April, 1967.

The "San Francisco Examiner", April 29, 1966, contained an article captioned, "Anti-War Leader Called Rec - Backs Morse Talk Here", read as follows:

"An organization recently formed to support liberal candidates opposed to the Government's Vietnam policy is being directed locally by a recent arrival from Cleveland who has been identified as a Communist long active in various Communist fronts.

"He is Don Rothenberg, northern director of Californians for Liberal Representation.

"The organization, with headquarters at 870 Market St., is sponsoring the speaking appearance here tonight of Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.).

"ROTHENBERG, 44-year-old native of Brooklyn, was identified as a member of a Communist cell in Washington, D.C., by Mrs. Mary Stalcup Markward in testimony before the House Un-American Activities on June 11, 1951.

"Mrs. Markward, who joined the Communist Party herself in 1943, said Rothenberg was sponsored for membership by Eleanor Driesen of the Spanish Aid Committee while he was attending George Washington University.

"Subsequently he has been identified with a number of left wing and Communist causes in testimony before the HCUA, the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security and the Ohio Un-American Activities Committee.

"AS HEAD OF the Young Progressives of America in Ohio, Rothenberg led the march on the home of Governor Frank J. Lausche protesting a delay in the processing of relief checks. The YPA has been cited by the Attorney General as a Communist front.

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"In testimony Sept. 14, 1954 before the HCUA, before which he repeatedly took the Fifth Amendment, Rothenberg was described as having been an active Communist even while serving with the military in Germany.

"He once served as director of community organization of the Communist controlled Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was youth director of the Ohio Wallace Committee and was secretary of the Ohio Progressive Party.

"Rothenberg also was active in the campaign to save the Rosenbergs, executed atom spies."

It was announced at a meeting of the Southside Section Council, Southern California District of the Communist Party (CP) on August 4, 1966, that the CP, United States of America (CPUSA) recommended that the Californians for Liberal Representation (CLR) Conference, to be held in Los Angeles, California on September 30th through October 1, 1966, be a major concentration for the CP with one person in each CP club assigned to be a liaison, and the leader in every club to be responsible for this concentration.

EF I-29, 8/10/66 [initials]

DONALD ROTHENBERG was chairman of the first session of a meeting of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam at San Francisco on May 2, 1967. The second session of this meeting was chaired by ED KEATING. This meeting was held for the purpose of creating the organizational form of a steering committee for that organization. Source advised that the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam was an Ad Hoc Organization composed of many groups, including communists to protest United States participation in the war in Vietnam by staging massive demonstrations in San Francisco and New York City on April 15, 1967.

EF T-26, 5/10/67 [initials]

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ROBERT SCHEFF

The April 8, 1967 issue of Human Events in an article captioned, 'The Inside Story of Ramparts Magazine', described Managing Editor ROBERT SCHER, age 30, as follows: u

A former member of the pro-CASTRO Fair Play for Cuba Committee who ran for the Democratic nomination for U. S. Congress in Berkeley in 1966. This article reported that SCHEFF hinged his entire campaign on getting out of the war in Vietnam and getting into the 'War on Poverty'. It stated that it was not publicized that SCHER in his race for Congress, had employed as a campaign coordinator CARL BLOICE, a 28-year-old CP member. BLOICE's CP membership was hardly a secret as for several years he had been a by-line staff writer for the People's World, the Communist weekly on the West Coast, and was also Publications Director for the Communist-controlled W.F.B. Du Bois Club. BLOICE, at the National Convention of the CP in New York City in 1966, was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA. u

Human Events,  
4/8/67

An article captioned 'Fair Play for Cuba' was signed by two individuals, one of whom was identified as BOB SCHEER, Graduate Student, Econ. 1, member Fair Play Committee. u

Daily Californian  
12/12/61

Daily Californian is a campus newspaper distributed at the University of California, Berkeley. u

An article captioned 'The 'Camp' Meeting at Cal' among other things identified ROBERT SCHEER as Research Director for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and stated SCHEER had visited Cuba in

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the summer of 1964 in defiance of a United  
States Department of State travel ban.

San Francisco Examiner  
5/22/65 u

An article published February 23, 1966, states  
among other things that ROBERT SCHEER is an  
outspoken critic of the JOHNSON administration  
policies in Vietnam and was 'presently' touring  
South Vietnam and Cambodia, the latter country  
at the invitation of Premier SIHANOUK.

Berkeley Daily  
Gazette, 2/23/66 u

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STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM

STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM, listed as a member of the Board of Directors in the June, 1967 issue of Ramparts, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The Harold Chapman Brown Discussion Society" whose preamble stated that "this organization is composed of students of varying political views and philosophies, who, dealing in Marxism as a significant trend in these times and deserving of critical study, desire to make such a study possible by holding a series of discussions led by competent authorities. We propose to study Marxism and its application to different fields of learning. This organization will not have as its purpose political activity of any variety; it will limit itself solely to discussion and debate. J

SF T-30, 10/26/49 (S) (u)

The May 20, 1965 issue of the Daily Californian, a student newspaper at the University of California, Berkeley, listed STANLEY SHEINBAUM as a speaker on Friday night's Vietnam Day schedule and described him as the designer of the Vietnam strategic hamlets. STANLEY SHEINBAUM was one of the speakers at a Vietnam Day Committee meeting on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley on May 21, 1965. SHEINBAUM denied credit for devising the strategic hamlets in South Vietnam and during his speech was critical of American foreign policy based on his five years experience in Vietnam for Michigan State University since 1960. J

Special Agent of FBI,  
5/21/65

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On October 15, 1965, STANLEY SHEINBAU' was the first of the featured speakers at a meeting on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley sponsored by the Vietnam Day Committee's International Days of Protest. SHEINBAU' was introduced as being with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. During his speech he stated that foreign aid in Vietnam had failed and that 10 weeks previous a major change in U. S. Vietnam policy occurred. He stated that the United States is no longer trying to pacify the peasants or win them away from the Viet Cong, but instead are eliminating them by saturation bombing. D

Special Agent of FBI,  
10/15/65

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[redacted]  
[redacted] was born [redacted]  
[redacted] received derivative citizen-  
ship through the naturalization of his father, [redacted]  
on July 25, 1944 in the U. S. District Court, Southern District of  
New York. ))

Records. U. S. Passport  
Office, U. S. Department of  
State, Washington, D.C.

[redacted] was a member of the  
Communist Party, (CP), USA. (S)(u)

(S)

SF T-31, [10/15/45] (S)(u)

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[redacted]

SF T-28, August, 1959 (S)(u)

House Report #378 of the Committee on Un-  
American activities described the 7th World Youth  
Festival as "Communist arranged".

[redacted] made payments totaling \$150 to the United States  
Festival Committee which organization sponsored U. S. representatives  
to the 7th World Youth Festival at Helsinki, Finland. )

SF T-32, 6/3/59

On March 28, 1960, an article appeared in the Iowa Defender  
newspaper, Iowa City, Iowa, which reported that SOL STERN participated  
in a debate wherein he took the position for unilateral disarmament.  
Among his viewpoints were: the U. S. is as much responsible for the  
cold war as Russia; the U. S. should submit to Communism rather than  
destroy itself fighting for human freedom which we do not have, and  
also that the U. S. should disarm first as he "guessed" they (the  
Russians) would too. )

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MARC STONE

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MARC STONE was listed as a member of the Board of Directors in the June, 1967 issue of Ramparts.

The April 8, 1967 issue of Human Events in an article captioned The Inside Story of Ramparts Magazine by M. M. MORTON, described MARC STONE as follows.

'Ramparts' New York public relations man is Marc Stone, the brother of leftist publisher I. F. Stone. It was just a year ago that a news release reported that Marc Stone was to handle publicity for the Walter and Miriam Schneir book. So, Ramparts' PR man is, in effect, the PR man for the Rosenberg-Sobell committees. Marc Stone once managed the New York office of Federated Press, cited as a Communist press service by both HCUA and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. The old Dies Committee found that Federated Press was financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, 'both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises' (a nice way of saying conduits).

'Last year Marc Stone traveled to Cambodia with six other Americans--one of them Ramparts' military editor, Donald Duncan--and after inspecting selected areas announced that the Viet Cong were not using Cambodia as a sanctuary, an expression identical to the press statements they had issued before leaving New York.'

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DAVID P. WELSH

DAVID P. WELSH, listed as "Senior Editor" in  
the May, 1967 issue of Ramparts. [REDACTED]

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SF T-7, 6/8/67

On December 3, 1965, [REDACTED]  
Adjudication Branch, Passport Office, United  
States Department of State (USDS), advised that  
according to her records the New York Passport  
Office was authorized by the Passport Office on  
December 1, 1965, to validate the passport of  
DAVID PRENTICE WELSH of Ramparts magazine for  
one round trip to Cuba with no time limit.  
There was no additional information available.

On December 15, 1965, [REDACTED]  
Passport Office, USDS, made available a file  
containing the following information:

On December 21, 1959, Passport Number [REDACTED] was  
issued to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
his permanent residence was at [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] His mailing address  
was furnished as [REDACTED]

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[redacted] was previously issued Passport number [redacted]

[redacted] His permanent residence address was furnished as [redacted]

The file contained a memorandum stating that [redacted]

This authorization was for one round trip and no time limit was stated. J

A source advised on December 2, 1965, that the [redacted]

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a visa for one month had been requested by [redacted]

[redacted] who was born in [redacted]

[redacted] and employed [redacted]

[redacted] His address was given as [redacted]

It was stated that he intended to write reports on the conference of the Latin American and African countries to be held in Havana in January, 1966. ~~(S)~~ (~~S~~) (~~S~~) (u)

\* SF T-33, [12/2/65] (X) (u)

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B. Foreign Contacts of Ramparts Staff

The San Francisco Examiner newspaper, issue of February 24, 1967, carried a page 1 news article headlined, "Ramparts Editor at Prague Meet" by CAPL ROWAN. This article explained that "a few days ago a brief, cryptic report out of Prague, Czechoslovakia, was passed among a handful of top officials in Washington". The report said that an editor of Ramparts magazine had visited Prague and held "a long, secret session" with officers of the Communist controlled International Union of Students (IUS) (characterized in the appendix).u

The article continued by stating that Ramparts is the magazine that exposed the fact that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had been financing the National Student Association (NSA), which in turn had worked for several years to prevent IUS from dominating the youth of the world. The article questioned what relationship there was between Ramparts and the IUS.u

ROWAN telephoned ROBERT SCHEER, Managing Editor of Ramparts, in San Francisco and SCHEER admitted that he had met with representatives of the National Liberation Front, political arm of the Communist Viet Cong, in South Vietnam, and also with IUS officers in Prague "several weeks ago" for two days. In response to a question as to who controlled IUS, SCHEER replied, "It is essentially an organ of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union". SCHEER emphasized that he had visited IUS headquarters strictly for journalistic reasons and that he was in Europe writing a story for Ramparts on BERTRAND RUSSELL, (the 94-year-old British philosopher who plans a Vietnam 'war crimes trial' of President JOHNSON), so he continued on to Prague to check the international implications of the Ramparts article on the NSA. SCHEER volunteered, "We don't truck with Communism in Ramparts. We compare the U. S. position in Vietnam with the actions of the Soviet Union in Hungary. Both are intolerable and we make no bones about it. Any attempt to smear us at Ramparts is libelous and we'll sue. I warned the same thing when they were muttering about me being a Communist when I ran for Congress".u

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The March 12-26, 1967 issue of the Sunday Ramparts contained an article captioned, "Ex-USIA chief returns a favor -- hits Ramparts for old bosses", which read in its entirety as follows: u

Washington columnist Carl Rowan, once the government's chief propagandist as head of the United States Information Agency, apparently still gets his cues from the Johnson Administration. Thus last week, in a column syndicated by the Hearst chain, Rowan came within less than an inch of libel in an attempt to smear Ramparts magazine with information that apparently came from government information sources. u

Two weeks ago Rowan was among a baker's dozen of Washington journalists who had dinner with Vice President Hubert Humphrey. At that supper Humphrey castigated the reporters present for their detective work into the Central Intelligence Agency's connections with the National Student Association, a story that came to light in the current issue of Ramparts Magazine. u

"What about Ramparts?" Humphrey suggested. Why hadn't anyone looked into Ramparts magazine for a little dirt, where does Ramparts' money come from, asked the Vice President. Then he dropped the 'hint' of a 'super-secret' trip to Prague, Czechoslovakia, by Ramparts' Managing Editor Robert Scheer. u

"(Scheer, in London to interview Bertrand Russell, did indeed go to Prague to interview representatives of Vietnam's National Liberation Front. After visiting Leiden, Holland, to interview leaders of the International Student Conference in connection with the CIA-NSA story, he also spoke to members of the International Union of Students, ISC's pro-Communist counterpart headquartered in Prague, to develop any further information for the forthcoming CIA expose.) u

"Rowan, whose former employer, the USIA, maintains close contact with the CIA for its propaganda work, took Humphrey at his word. Rowan called Scheer for an explanation. Scheer told him of his European travels and their purposes. u

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A few days later Powan's column appeared. He called the trip 'Scheer's mission to Prague,' implying that the 'top officials' of Washington were all agog. Rowan further suggested, without daring to make an accusation that would have stood up in court, that Ramparts' \$1.5 million operating deficit was being paid for by . . . well, 'Mr. Scheer may have more to say about his mission to Prague.' u

Powan's questions about Ramparts' financing could easily have been answered if he read the New York Times where an earlier story detailed the names and amounts of Ramparts' backers. No one in the least suspicious was named, not even a single foundation. u

Correspondents in Washington report that Rowan probably needed a lawyer's help to write his column, a piece which was so dangerously close to libel that newspapers which pick up the column hesitated to carry it. There is also some evidence to suggest that he re-wrote the piece at the last minute to prevent a possible libel suit. u

However, a possible libel suit may just be what will happen, according to Ramparts' editors. Their lawyers are currently investigating the matter. u

A source which has furnished reliable information in the past advised ROBERT SCHEER, Managing Editor of Ramparts magazine, visited Prague, Czechoslovakia, about two weeks prior to the advance release of Ramparts' story on CIA support to the United States National Students Association (USNSA). A story on Vietnam, datelined Prague February 4, 1967, by ROBERT SCHEER, appears in a bi-weekly edition of The Sunday Ramparts, dated February 12-26, 1967. u

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Prior to his departure for his European trip, [redacted] told a source on January 16 that he was leaving on January 17 for England to interview BERTRAND PUSSELL regarding the War Crimes Tribunal, and would also travel to Prague to interview a National Liberation Front (Vietnam) representative. During the conversation, [redacted] questioned source about the National Student Association and added that he had heard that the International Union of Students (Prague) was an "inactive" Commie front and that the International Conference (Holland) was simply a "counter front".

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According to CARL ROWAN's column in the Washington Star of February 24, SCHEER admitted that he had visited the IUS in Prague in early February. He told ROWAN that he had gone to Prague "to check the international implications of our article on the NSA." According to ROWAN, SCHEER hedged when asked who controls the IUS, but finally said, "It is essentially an organ of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union." **Q**

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In Holland on January 27, SCHEER met with ISC leaders and questioned them about finances. He said he was checking out facts for another author who was doing his subsequent travels in Europe except for one unconfirmed report that he was in Stockholm or intended to be there on or about February 6, 1967.

On February 3 source learned that a source who had just returned from Prague reported that a 'white man with American accent' arrived at the IUS on Monday, January 30, and was still there when source departed on February 2. Source assumed he was the cultural type, since he was taken under the wing of Wlodomierz Konarski, who has cultural responsibilities. Many special meetings took place with this man. One whole day was devoted to typing materials for the visitor. The visit was unusual especially for its atmosphere of excited activity. The man seemed to the source familiar with the building, etc., as if he had been there before.

A Prague broadcast in English at 1748 GMT on March 1, 1967, attributed to the Czechoslovak Press Bureau, stated that the Secretariat of the International Union of Students denied U. S. 'rumors' about the alleged cooperation between IUS and the American magazine Ramparts on uncovering facts about the financing of student organizations by the CIA. The broadcast added that ROBERT SCHEER, managing editor of Ramparts, had visited the IUS secretariat in Prague during a European tour and asked them to arrange a meeting for him with the National Liberation Front (Vietnam) representative located in Prague; that there was no mention of recent revelations concerning CIA and student organizations, and that as far as the secretariat had been informed, SCHEER's trip was "of a purely journalistic character."

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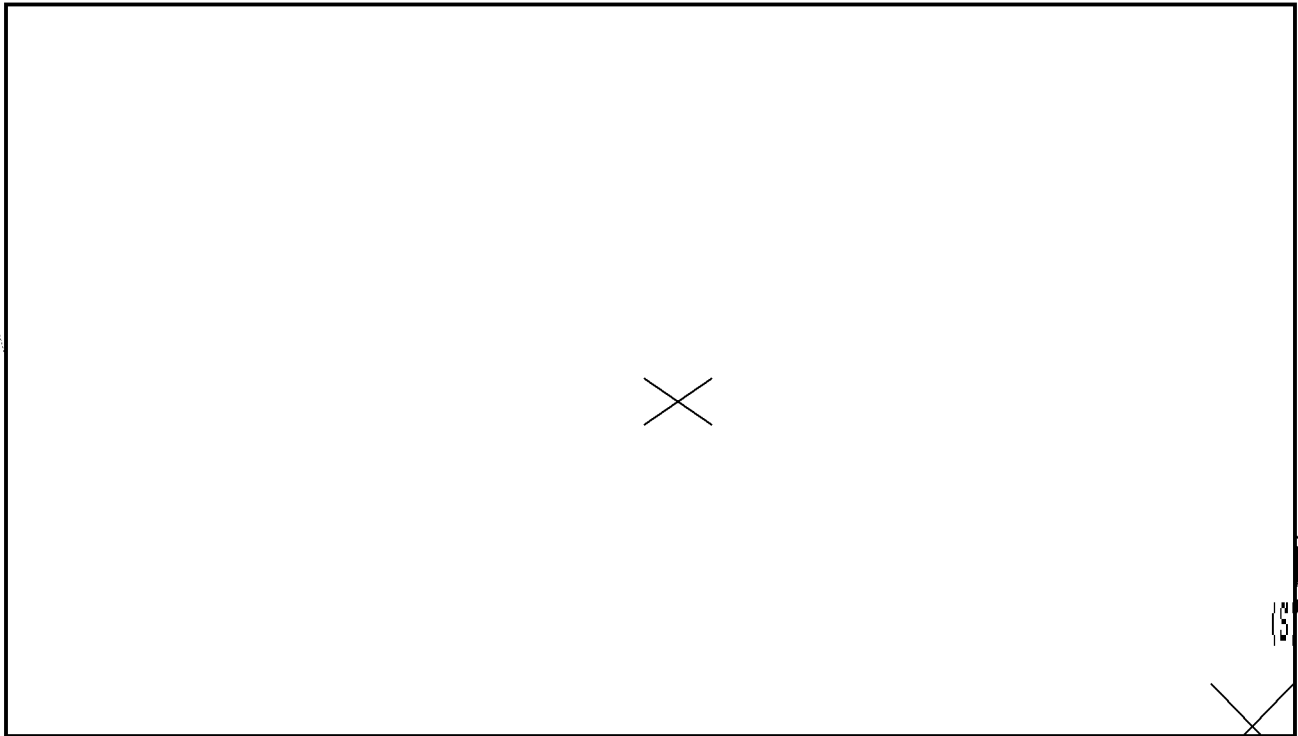
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Ramparts Explanation of How Expose on CIA Originated

The April 3, 1967 issue of The National Observer, a weekly newspaper of national distribution published in New York City, in an article captioned, "A New Magazine Rakes the Muck, Finds Pay Dirt -- Ramparts' Editors Uncloak The CIA, Blast Johnson, and Gather Subscribers", reported that in interview with SOL STEPN, Assistant Managing Editor of Ramparts, it was explained how the magazine's CIA expose originated. The National Observer article is quoted in part as follows: U

"Ramparts got the story from a disillusioned NSA officer named Michael Wood, who had known nothing of the CIA involvement until taken into the confidence of the NSA president. U

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'It was a Team Effort

'The story was a team effort, with several staff members working on it and students that they knew helping with the research on the foundations involved in New York City, Boston, Washington, and Dallas. 'I thought at any time the whole thing would fall apart,' Sol Stern, who wrote the final story, said last week.

'We were going primarily on the tip of one guy and he might turn out to be unreliable. We were expecting complete denials and a great hassle over its credibility. So Warren told me to write it low key, to build up the facts slowly and steadily to give it all the credibility we could. It's really kind of dull, moves very slowly, but, given the kind of story it is, I think that's right.'

'Mr. Stern, a tall, quiet New Yorker of 31, leaned back in his chair and smiled slightly at the memory. 'But you know there were no denials at all. When I finally talked to the NSA people they just looked kind of funny and said, "Oh, that story, you don't want to do that. Too many people will get hurt". Then was when I knew we had it.'

'The way the NSA story broke was something of a journalistic first and demonstrated again the magazine's tendency to unorthodoxy. The story was announced in full-page ads in the New York Times and the Washington Post a couple of weeks before the magazine came out, probably the first time in American journalistic history that a scoop was broken in advertisements in other publications. By the time many subscribers got the magazine the full story plus all the secondary revelations that were dug up by various newspapers had been told and retold, examined and analyzed from almost every point of view.

'Well, look, we had to move ' Mr. Hinckle said last week, 'It was starting to leak out. Some of the big Eastern papers were getting onto it and NSA was starting to panic. I was afraid we were going to get our own story shot out from under us'."

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C. Contents of Publication

The June, 1966 issue of Ramparts contained an expose article captioned, "Bishop Sheen and the Great Charity Hoax". In response to this article LESTER KINSOLVING, Religion Editor of the San Francisco Chronicle, wrote an article in the October 22, 1966 issue of that newspaper captioned, "Ramparts Magazine and Bishop Sheen", which read as follows:

"One of the most serious charges ever leveled at a Roman Catholic bishop in America was made last June by the magazine, Ramparts.

"Edited in San Francisco, it has, on a wide variety of subjects, become a prominent thorn in the flesh of the church hierarchy, mainly because it is impervious to the charge of being anti-Catholic. Its publisher is a devout if rebellious Catholic layman named Edward Keating, who was a recent candidate for Congress from San Mateo County.

"Having previously denounced what it believed was Francis Cardinal Spellman's considerable responsibility for United States intervention in Vietnam, Ramparts next drew a bead on the most renowned Catholic clergyman in the U. S. -- Bishop Fulton J. Sheen.

"In an article entitled 'Bishop Sheen and The Great Charity Hoax,' Ramparts religious editor and associate publisher, James F. Colaianni, a Catholic attorney, recorded a number of devastating accusations made by one Don Waite, a Catholic layman who recently visited various African missions which are supported by Sheen's Society for the Propagation of The Faith.

"Included among these accusations was Waite's report that 32 African bishops had affirmed that money given to the society seldom if ever arrived where needed and that there was a disparity between the society's propaganda and its performance.

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"The Most Rev. Joseph Kiwanuka, Archbishop of Rubaga in Uganda, was quoted by Waite as saying that the Society 'has deliberately frustrated our efforts'. Bishop Maurice Otunga, of the Diocese of Kisii in Kenya, was quoted as saying 'Rome doesn't send enough money to this diocese in a year to buy gasoline for my car.'

"In the interest of examining claims of both accused and accuser, visits were made to the Ramparts' office on Broadway in San Francisco as well as to the national headquarters of the society at 366 Fifth Ave., in New York.

"James A. Cousins, the Society's C.P.A., provided the following information: (1) Archbishop Kiwanuka died five months prior to the article's publication and was hospitalized for six months so that 'he couldn't have seen Waite' (2) A photostatic copy of a four-page letter in which Bishop Otunga thoroughly repudiates Waite, (3) A written record of Society expenditures of \$10,397,468 in Africa during 1965, together with citations of canceled checks, annual audit and biennial inspection by the Insurance Department of the State of New York.

"Ramparts writer Colaianni responded to such information by contending that he has a tape recording of Kiwanuka's charges. He also suggested that Otunga's letter was written under Vatican pressure. He did not explain why he felt the Vatican would be inclined to pressure a native bishop in embattled Africa -- particularly one who was supposed to be outraged by fraud. Neither did he explain why, if Otunga has now yielded to pressure, the bishop would ever have made such statements in the first place.

"Last July, in New York, Cousins indicated his intention of following the suggestion of Ave Maria magazine and suing Ramparts. By late September, he seemed content to supply the press with copies of Otunga's letter and to keep Bishop Sheen out of court.

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"If the magnetic Sheen were ever to take the witness stand, his effect upon a jury might be explosive. An example of the kind of charm he can manifest while utilizing two of the most hypnotic eyes in Christendom was provided in his brief appearance following my discussion with Cousins in New York.

"In response to my mumbled reference to Pope John's statement that if St. Paul were alive today he would be a Christian journalist, Sheen replied immediately 'No -- he would be a rewrite man!'

"Then: 'San Francisco! -- one of my two favorite cities. There is more grace per square foot in San Francisco than any place on earth!'"

On December 23, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information concerning a press conference held by Ramparts magazine at the World Church Center, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York City, on December 22, 1966.

Source stated that the purpose of the press conference was to publicize an article by WILLIAM F. PEPPER, entitled, "The Children of Vietnam." This article appears in the January, 1967 issue of Ramparts. Source stated that the conference had been announced by MARC STONE, New York representative of Ramparts, in a letter to various press associations.

Source stated that the conference was attended by some 40 correspondents, including representatives of the ABC Television Network. MARC STONE, WARREN HINCKLE III, Editor of Ramparts, Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK, a medical doctor famed for his books on child care, and WILLIAM PEPPER, author of the article, were present on behalf of Ramparts.

The stated purpose of the conference was to make public an appeal by Ramparts magazine to the United Nations

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Children's Fund to investigate conditions surrounding the wounding and killing of children in Vietnam as an outgrowth of the Vietnamese war. A copy of a letter from WAPREN HINCKLE III, Editor of Ramparts, to Mr. HENRY/LABOUISSSE, Director, United Nations Children's Fund, was distributed to the press. In this letter HINCKLE drew the attention of LABOUISSSE to the article and suggested that the condition of the wounded children in Vietnam be investigated by the United Nations Children's Fund. ~~SECRET~~

Source stated that PEPPER, who gave his age as 29, addressed the group. He described himself as a humanitarian and stated that he had travelled to Vietnam as a free-lance journalist. He said that he had returned to the United States in May, 1966. He remarked that he had become acquainted with Ramparts sometime after the trip when he finally decided to publish his impressions and findings. He added that he is studying for his Ph.D in Political Science at the "New School" (probably the New School for Social Research in New York City).

Source said that PEPPER did not express any extreme comments about the Vietnamese war per se, but that he confined his remarks to the scope of his article about the children of Vietnam.

Source added that PEPPER seemed annoyed when he was asked by an Associated Press (AP) correspondent how he had gotten to Vietnam, whether he was a regular correspondent for Ramparts and why he had chosen Ramparts to publish his article. Source stated that his answers to these inquiries started out as vague remarks about "free-lancing" and "a desire to see things for himself." Source stated that he seemed vexed and dropped the subject of his relationship with Ramparts magazine upon receiving a note which MARC STONE had hastily written and passed to him.

Source stated that he got the impression that STONE and HINCKLE, who was silent throughout the conference, were rather tense about what PEPPER might say concerning Ramparts.

Source stated that PEPPER was again challenged by an AP correspondent when he stated that most of the statistics used by him in the article were obtained from HUGH CAMPBELL, whom he described as a Canadian who had worked with the International

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Armistice Commission. According to source, the AP correspondent stated that he had phoned CAMPBELL that morning and had been told that he had never given or obtained any such statistics (about deaths and injuries in Vietnam). PEPPER's reply to this was that "CAMPBELL was backing out."

Source said that PEPPER was saved from further embarrassment by a foreign correspondent who stated that it was futile to discuss the exact number of children in Vietnam. Source stated that PEPPER seemed grateful for this statement and used the opportunity to launch into a humanitarian speech.

Source said that Dr. SPOCK, who had written the introduction to PEPPER's article in Ramparts, made a short statement of accusation against "the crocodile tears of the State Department" and the war in Vietnam "that is morally wrong". Source stated that the conference ended with MARC STONE distributing pictures of injured Vietnamese children to whomever wanted them.

Source stated that printed material was distributed to the press at the conference. This material included:

1 - A reprint of the Ramparts article entitled "The Children of Vietnam".

2 - A press release bearing the name Ramparts and marked for release 11:00 a.m., Thursday, December 22, 1966, with the headline "Study Shows 250,000 South Vietnamese Children Killed in War, Thousands More Dying Without Treatment - United Nations Children's Fund Asked to Investigate." This release stated in part that Ramparts appealed to the United Nations Children's Fund to investigate Mr. PEPPER's charges about the effect of American bombing and revealed that a group of prominent American doctors and other concerned citizens are organizing to transport napalm-burned Vietnamese children to the United States and care for them in United States medical facilities. The release described PEPPER as a political scientist, Executive Director of the New Rochelle, New York Commission on Human Rights, and a faculty member of Mercy College, Dobbs Ferry, New York.

3 - A document entitled "Resolution on the Vietnam War." This resolution, according to its contents, was adopted

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unanimously by the Advisory Committee of the Christian Peace Conference (ACCPC) in Sofia, Bulgaria, October, 1966.

4 - A letter to Christians in the United States and its allies from the ACCPC.

5 - A message from the Secretary General (of the UN) to Lord BROCKWAY, Chairman, British Council for Peace in Vietnam, dated November 11, 1966.

6 - A paper entitled "Resolutions on China by Churches." This document contains quotations from resolutions and statements by various church groups which advocate the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

7 - A copy of the remarks made by WILLIAM F. PEPPER to the press during the conference.

SF T-36, 12/23/66

The May 26 1967 issue of Time Magazine, in the Medicine section, contained an article captioned, "Casualties -- Children of Viet Nam", which read as follows:

"The purpose of the mission was to find war-injured children suitable for medical treatment in the U. S. How many such children were found by the three-doctor mission sent to Viet Nam by the Committee of Responsibility to Save War-Burned and War-Injured Vietnamese Children? Thirteen, for now. Eventually, reported one of the doctors last week, the program would probably transport from five to ten children a month to the U. S. for plastic surgery or prosthetic-device fitting too complex to be carried out in the western Pacific.

What of the Ramparts report of a million child war victims that provoked the formation of the Committee of Responsibility in the first place? The three doctors --

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Internist Henry Mayer of Redwood City, Calif., Plastic Surgeon John Constable of Boston, and Pediatrician Theodore Tapper of Philadelphia -- struggled to establish reliable casualty estimates. They visited 37 of the Viet Nam government's provincial hospitals in three weeks, but in the end could do no better than accept the Vietnamese Ministry of Health's report that casualties are now being admitted to its hospitals at the rate of 50,000 a year. Among them: 10,000 children. The doctors noted that according to some estimates, only one-third of civilian casualties ever reach a hospital. That would mean 30,000 child casualties a year at current rates, and perhaps 150,000 since the war began.

"Speeding Aid. As for the claim that Vietnamese hospitals are crowded with burn victims in need of plastic surgery in the U. S., the committee tended to agree with Dr. Howard A. Rusk, the U. S.'s best-known rehabilitation expert, that such is not the case. Among the hundreds of casualties the doctors saw, only 38 were suffering from 'war burns' (both phosphorus and napalm), and 13 of these were children. They found no patients with third-degree burns covering more than 20% of the body surface. This, they concluded, jibed with the opinion of U. S. military experts that the most severely burned victims of napalm and phosphorus die, sometimes of suffocation, without reaching a hospital. The C.O.R. doctors discounted Rusk's theory that many civilian 'napalm burn' cases were actually injured trying to cook with gasoline. Several victims they saw described the bomb that hurt them as a 'gasoline bomb.'

"The C.O.R. doctors noted, as has every U. S. visitor to Viet Nam, that civilian hospitals there are piteously inadequate, understaffed, and lack essential supplies.' U. S. military and civilian authorities are now speeding aid to the Saigon government to enlarge and improve the hospitals and build several new ones. And since a major difficulty for civilians is getting to a hospital in time for

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I N D E X

<u>Name</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Page</u>
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		UNIVERSITY	16
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			34,48,49

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[REDACTED]	20	[REDACTED]	27,34,36
[REDACTED]	71,73,74	[REDACTED]	59,71,72
[REDACTED]	20,34,38	[REDACTED]	51
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[REDACTED]	52,53	[REDACTED]	50
[REDACTED]	17,62,63	[REDACTED]	51
[REDACTED]	21		
[REDACTED]	62,63,65		
[REDACTED]	5,19,20,21		
[REDACTED]	21,34		
[REDACTED]	20		
SALK, WARD & SALK, INC.	20		
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W. E. B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

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A source has advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party (CP), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. The aims of this organization, as set forth in the preamble to the constitution, are: "It is our belief that this nation can best solve its problems in an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence, complete disarmament and true freedom for all peoples of the world, and that these solutions will be reached mainly through the united efforts of all democratic elements in our country, composed essentially of the working people allied in the unity of Negroes and other minorities with whites. We further fully recognize that the greatest threat to American democracy comes from the racist and right wing forces in coalition with the most reactionary sections of the economic power structure, using the tool of anti-Communism to divide and destroy the unified struggle of the working people."

Over the Labor Day weekend, 1965, the DCA held a conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a new slate of officers was elected to the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the DCA. Since Labor Day, 1965, identities of those serving on the NEC has varied; however, according to a third source as of May, 1966, thirteen of the fifteen members of the NEC were members of the CP in the San Francisco Bay area.

As of July, 1966, the headquarters of the DCA was located at 180 North Wachter Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

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WORLD PEACE COUNCIL, aka  
World Council of Peace

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The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Page 179, contains the following citation regarding the World Peace Council, aka World Council of Peace:

Cited as Having been formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and which was heralded by the Moscow radio as "the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 378 on the Communist Peace Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 38.)

APPENDIX

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~~SECRET~~COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL

"Following the execution of atomic spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in June, 1953, the 'Communist campaign assumed a different emphasis. Its major effort centered upon Morton Sobell,' the Rosenbergs' codefendant. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case - a Communist front which had been conducting the campaign in the United States - was reconstituted as the National Rosenberg - Sobell Committee at a conference in Chicago in October, 1953, and 'then the National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case'..."

("Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," dated December 1, 1961, issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, page 116.)

In September, 1954, the name "National Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON SOBELL" appeared on literature issued by the Committee. In March, 1955, the current name "Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON SOBELL," first appeared on literature issued by the Committee.

The Address Telephone Directory for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, as published by the New York Telephone Company on April 14, 1966, lists the "Committee to Secure Justice for MORTON SOBELL" (CSJMS) as being located at 150 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

APPENDIX~~SECRET~~~~SECRET~~~~SECRET~~

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"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

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The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on Page 193 concerning "National Guardian:"

1. "established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a 'progressive' weekly\*\*\*. Although it denies having any affiliation with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Title: Reason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell, August 25, 1956, p. 12.)

APPENDIX

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INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

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1. "The World Federation of Democratic Youth brought into being the International Union of Students, which held a meeting in Prague on August 17-31, 1946. The administration and direction of this project was entrusted to a 17-man executive committee, of whom 12 were known Communists." Also cited as one of the "long-established Soviet-controlled international organizations" which speak identical lines of propaganda and stand together on all phases of Soviet foreign policy and which has "affiliated organizations in the United States, which consequently have also been turned into instruments in the 'peace' campaign."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 271 on American Youth for Democracy, April 17, 1947, p. 13, and House Report 373 on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 77)

2. Cited as being among "international Communist fronts \* \* \* functioning at the present time."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1950, p. 93, also p. 50.)

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APPENDIX

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

June 16, 1967

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Title RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

Reference Report of SA   
dated and captioned as above  
at San Francisco.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION **SECRET**b6  
b7C

REPORTING OFFICE <b>NEW HAVEN</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>6-16-67</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>4/28-6/15/67</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>RAMPARTS</b>		REPORT MADE BY SA <span style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 100px; height: 1.2em; vertical-align: middle;"></span>	TYPED BY <b>jml</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE  <b>REGISTRATION ACT</b>	

REFERENCES: San Francisco airtel, 5-29-67;  
New Haven letter, 6-9-67

- RUC -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified **SECRET** because it contains information from  which furnishes information of a highly sensitive nature about racial matters in the United States and the Communist infiltration thereof; and because the characterization of LEVISON contains a concentration of information from NY 694\*.

(U)

The information furnished by the Bureau by Bureau letter of 3-13-67 captioned Cominfil of SCLC regarding \$5000 contributed by  to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was not reported for the source is not known to New Haven.

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CLASS. REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 DATE OF REVIEW 6/16/87	ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
--	--

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED  <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
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3 - New Haven (97-159)  
(1-100-18359)  
(1-100-1980)

900-445393-54	REC 5
JUN 21 1967	

Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations
Agency	ACSI, OSI, OLC, CIA, State, Defense	<b>SECRET</b> INDA SECRET
Forwarded	NSA, OPA, OCS (SD)	
Date Fwd.	7-3-67	
How Fwd.	R/S	
By	RAW: RAK	

55 JUL 9 1967

9 1967  
932 gtd

NH 97-159

There is investigation outstanding in this matter  
under the caption SCLC and [redacted] aka  
[redacted]

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There are additional leads being set out in the  
above cases and if any information is received which would  
be of value to instant case, it will be reported.

INFORMANTS

(U)	<u>Identity</u>	<u>Location</u>
	NH T-1 is [redacted]	100-18339-89
	NH T-2 is NY 694-S*	100-18339-89
	NH T-3 is [redacted]	100-18339-94
(U)	NH T-4 is [redacted] [redacted]	100-18339-91
	NH T-5 is [redacted] [redacted]	97-159

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The records of the Secretary of State, Boston,  
were reviewed by IC [redacted] 4-28-67.

SECRET

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~SECRET~~

## Copy to:

Report of: SA [REDACTED]

Office: NEW HAVEN

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Date: June 16, 1967

Field Office File #: 97-159

Bureau File #:

Title:

RAMPARTS

Character: REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis:

[REDACTED] was born [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] He started business in [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] He has also been in  
touch with a member of the Communist Party on this same  
type of discussion. He is known to have been a member  
[REDACTED]DETAILS: BIRTH

- C -

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

[REDACTED] Connecticut State

CLASS.  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 6/16/87~~SECRET~~GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

NH 97-159

Bureau of Vital Statistics, 79 Elm Street, Hartford, Connecticut, advised April 19, 1967, that her records reflect that one [redacted] was born on [redacted]

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EDUCATION

[redacted] advised June 12, 1967, that [redacted] graduated from [redacted] but he did not know under what name [redacted] graduated.

CHANGE OF NAME

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department of State (USDS), Washington, D.C., which were reviewed by a representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on June 6, 1967, contained the following information:

[redacted] exhibited a birth certificate in the name of [redacted] and a court order dated [redacted] showing change of name to that above. He gave his permanent residence as [redacted]

He stated that he was married

EMPLOYMENT

Records of the Hartford Credit Rating Bureau, 55 Allyn Street, Hartford, Connecticut, were reviewed November 21, 1966, by [redacted] and reflected that [redacted] has been known to the files of this Bureau since 1948. He is reported to have an income of [redacted] and



NH 97-159

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The file reflects that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The file further reflected that [REDACTED] came to

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] States Office,  
Incorporated Division, Hartford, Connecticut. advised  
June 6, 1967. that her file reflects that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

advised June 12, 1967, that it is his understanding on good authority, that when [redacted]

NH T-1 advised November 12, 1966, that STANLEY LEVISON, and [redacted] were in conference on that date and they discussed a time when the two could discuss in greater detail [redacted] Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). X

(U)

NH T-2 advised in April, 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, (CP, USA) in July 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON is described by certain CP leaders as

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(U) being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His difficulties with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism. ~~S~~

NH T-3 advised October 30, 1958, that [redacted]

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(U)

The "Hartford Times," a daily evening newspaper published in Hartford, Connecticut, in its issue of January 31, 1961, reflected that one RICHARD A. RUSSELL was elected treasurer of the newly formed Central Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in Connecticut.

(U) The article reflected that the group is devoted to the "cessation of all nuclear weapons testing with adequate inspection and to general multi-lateral disarmament."

NH T-4 advised August 24, 1965, that ~~S~~ [redacted]

[redacted] Hartford Police Department, advised August 18, 1965, that NECAP is a militant civil rights group in Hartford, Connecticut, composed of Negroes and whites.

On April 28, 1967, records of the Division of Corporations, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, were reviewed and reflect

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NH 97-159

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that Dick Russell Pontiac, Incorporated, was incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts as an auto sales and service business on December 31, 1964; and it is located at 870 Commonwealth Avenue, Brookline, Massachusetts.

On October 29, 1965, the incorporation's name was changed to Pontiac Village, Incorporated. Its officers are President and Treasurer RICHARD A. RUSSELL of West Hartford, Connecticut. Directors include RUSSELL and his wife.

Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Incorporated, 6 St. James Street, records were checked May 8, 1967, and reflect that [REDACTED]

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The Abstract of Certificate of Condition is as follows:

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## Commonwealth of Massachusetts

KEVIN H. WHITE

Secretary of the Commonwealth

## ABSTRACT OF CERTIFICATE OF CONDITION

Name of Corporation, Ponchar Village Inc.  
 Kind of Business, .....  
 Location, .....  
 Incorporated under the laws of .....  
 When Certificate was filed, .....  
 Date of Annual Meeting, .....

Authorized and issued capital stock of each class on date fixed in by-laws for annual meeting:—

CLASSES OF STOCK	*Par Value Per Share	TOTAL AUTHORIZED By Organization or Amendments		TOTAL ISSUED AND OUTSTANDING (Including any issued stock held as treasury stock)	
		No. of Shares	*Total Par Value	No. of Shares	Amount Then Paid Thereon
Preferred . . . . .			\$		\$
Common . . . . .					

\*If stock is without par value, state "no par"

Date of Statement: May 15, 1966

## ASSETS

## LIABILITIES

Cash . . . . .	\$ 9,779 92	Accounts payable . . . . .	\$ 227,181 15
Accounts receivable, customers . . . . .	3,091,452 07	Notes and acceptances payable . . . . .	1,352,108 42
Accounts receivable, others . . . . .	350,905 51	<del>Accounts receivable, others</del> . . . . .	243,261 84
Notes receivable, customers . . . . .		Mortgages { Specify kind of property mortgaged }	
Notes receivable, others . . . . .		Bonds . . . . .	13,400 00
Merchandise . . . . .	1,300,486 47	Reserves (classify below):	
Supplies . . . . .		NOTE: Reserves for depreciation or reduction of assets, if not deducted from assets, shall be appropriately described to identify the assets to which they apply.	
Securities {except those issued by this corporation} . . . . .		Capital stock with par value . . . . .	232,710 25
Real Estate . . . . .	30,249 01	Capital stock without par value No. of shares without par value {	
Machinery . . . . .	3,168 48	Surplus . . . . .	38,766 40
Motor Vehicles and Trailers . . . . .			
Equipment and Tools . . . . .	14,593 40		
Furniture and Fixtures . . . . .	35,773 62		
<del>Leasehold improvements</del> . . . . .	6,495 62		
Prepaid insurance, interest, taxes . . . . .			
Patent rights, trademarks, copyrights . . . . .			
Good Will . . . . .			
Treasury stock . . . . .	11,000 00		
<del>Deposits</del> . . . . .	5,000 00		
<del>Investment in other corporations</del> . . . . .			
<del>Other assets</del> . . . . .			
Profit and loss (deficit) . . . . .			
TOTAL . . . . .	\$2,107,404 36	TOTAL . . . . .	\$2,107,404 36

- a. Indicate on what basis any securities owned are stated above ("cost", "market", etc.).....  
 b. Did the corporation have any contingent liabilities not reported above?.....  
 c. What of the above class of assets, if any, were pledged?.....

NH 97-159

NH T-5 advised June 5, 1967, that a check had been drawn in March, 1967, on the Chemical Bank, 20 Pine Street Office, New York City, on the account of [redacted]

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[redacted]

Ramparts then drew three checks on the account in the amount of [redacted]

[redacted] then made a check to the Mankauf Realty, probably in New York City, in the amount of [redacted]

The records of the Town Clerk, West Hartford, Connecticut, were reviewed June 5, 1967, under the name of RUSSELL and Russell Pontiac, Inc. Under the name of Russell Pontiac a transaction was located showing that this name is now, R R Realty, and that a mortgage in

[redacted]

It was noted that on May 24, 1967, [redacted] attorneys filed a mortgage deed showing that [redacted]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
New Haven, Connecticut

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. **97-159**

June 16, 1967

~~SECRET~~

Title            **RAMPARTS**

Character       **REGISTRATION ACT**

Reference       Report of SA   
dated and captioned as above at  
New Haven, Connecticut.

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b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2012 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-44254) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

DATE: 7/19/67

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4/15/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-2 TOL/STW  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 7/19/87

Re report of SA [redacted] dated 6/16/67, at San Francisco.

By referenced report, San Francisco Division requested the identity of one E. A. SALK of Salk, Ward and Salk, Inc., who transferred \$5,000 to "Rampart" on January 13, 1967. In this connection, the following is noted: u

The "Chicago Daily News," a Chicago, Illinois, daily newspaper, issue of June 4, 1966, page 7, column 1, Magazine Section, carried an article entitled "Much Needed Guide to Negro History." u

This aforementioned article was in the nature of a book review and reviewed a book entitled "A Layman's Guide to Negro History." The article identified the author of this book as ERWIN A. SALK. u

The article went on to note that ERWIN A. SALK was a businessman who was president of the Chicago mortgage banking firm of Salk, Ward and Salk, Inc., and that SALK resided in Evanston, Illinois. u

The article further identified SALK as having attended the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, and during World War II, as having served in the military being a graduate of the School of Military Governors of the Far East. u

The article further stated that SALK had served in postwar Japan and later was with Unesco in Paris, France. u

The article also stated that SALK has been president of the mortgage firm for five years and had served in active capacity with the Evanston-North Suburban Urban League and the Chicago Conference on Race and Religion. u

1 910 94-D  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (157-2454) (P)  
Chicago  
DLT:cmv  
(5)

REC-57 100 445393 56

103

JUL 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-44254

Referral/Consult

[Redacted]  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted] C  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted] C  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted] C  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted] C  
[Redacted]  
[Redacted] C

[Redacted]

(U) ERWIN A. SALK is a wealthy individual who has donated money to Communist causes in the past. C

(U)

[Redacted] 7/7/67) C

b7D

For the general information of the San Francisco Division, it is to be noted that Salk, Ward and Salk, Inc., Mortgage Bankers, 11 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois, is one of the most prominent business financial institutions in the Chicago area and this firm, of which ERWIN SALK is now president, has been very active in promoting the development of suburban shopping centers, real estate developments and Loop business buildings. u

SALK has no current Communist Party membership and has not had for a number of years, however, as indicated in the aforementioned information, he has for many years made sizeable monetary contributions to the Communist Party of Illinois and has been active in Communist front organizations. C

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF  
ON 02-09-2011

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, -INC.  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
(OO:SF)

DATE: 7/27/05

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Rerept of SA	dated 6/16/67, at SF.
--------------	-----------------------

b6  
b7C

The following investigation was conducted at NY, as requested in re report:

CSNY-1

furnished SA

b6  
b7C  
b7D

~~CLASS. &  
REASON-FCIM II  
DATE OF REVIEW~~

ALL INFORMATION  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

NO DISSEMINATION  
SPECIAL RESTRICTIONS  
3 CO (157-459) (2)  
SEE TOP SERIAL

2-Bureau (RM)  
2-San Francisco  
1-New York

~~WHB : db~~  
~~(5)~~

REC JUL 31 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



59 AUG 4 5 1968

**Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan**

NY 157-1300

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

History

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Operation

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

On 6/28/67, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, NYC. furnished by [Redacted] to Investigative Clerk (IC) [Redacted] reflected no unfavorable information concerning [Redacted]. The records reflected that

b6  
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

According to the 1967-1968, Westchester Telephone Directory, [Redacted] has the business address of [Redacted]. The directory also contains a listing for [Redacted].

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

On 10/24/62

(Conceal)

[Redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 157-1300

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7C  
b7D

\* Concerning [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

On 6/23/67, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York caused to be checked by SA [REDACTED] reflected no record of [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

On 6/27/67, CSNY-1 [REDACTED] advised SA WILLIAM F. MARTIN he could locate no credit record of [REDACTED]

A review of New York files reflected no information identifiable with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
On 7/30/64, IC [REDACTED] obtained the following passport record at the Passport Office, Department of State, Washington, DC:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 157-1300

Name:

Passport:

(Dependent). issued

Restriction:

Albania, Cuba and those portions  
of China, Korea and Viet Nam under

Application dated:

Date of Birth:

Permanent residence:

Mailing address:

Port of departure:

Approximate departure  
date:

Mode of travel:

Intended stay abroad:

Proposed itinerary:

Purpose of trip:

Join family -husband-

-son-

born -daughter-

born

Parents:

D✓

In her application, she requested that her father,  
United States Embassy, Athens, Greece, be  
notified in event of death or accident.

Last married on:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 157-1300

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Description

Height:	5'2"
Hair:	Brown
Eyes:	Brown
Marks:	None listed
Occupation:	Wife-mother

On 8/6/65, [redacted] (Conceal, per request),

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted]

"Who's Who in America", 1966-1967, [redacted]

[redacted] reflects [redacted]

[redacted]

On 6/23/67, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, furnished by [redacted] to SA [redacted] reflected no unfavorable information concerning [redacted]

b6  
b7C

On 6/27/67, CSNY-1 [redacted] advised SA WILLIAM F. MARTIN he could furnish no information concerning [redacted]

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 157-1300

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

\*Concerning Mankauf Realty

A review of New York files contained <sup>no</sup> information concerning Mankauf Realty.

Current telephone directories for the five boroughs of the City of New York, were reviewed and no listing was located for Mankauf Realty.

On 6/27/67, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York caused to be checked by IC [redacted] reflected no record of Mankauf Realty.

b6  
b7C

On 6/27/67, records of CSNY-1 caused to be checked by SA WILLIAM F. MARTIN, reflected no record of Mankauf Realty.

[redacted]

The 1966-1967 Manhattan, NYC Telephone Directory lists RABINOWITZ and BOUDIN Attorneys. with offices at 30 East 42nd St., NYC, and also lists [redacted] LEONARD BOUDIN at this address.

(U) On 6/23/61 [redacted] who has furnished reliable info in the past, advised that LEONARD BOUDIN was a speaker at an enlarged New York County Communist Party committee meeting, which was held 6/21/61, at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave., NYC.

b7D

A current characterization of Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, Inc., is attached to the Appendix of this letter. This characterization contains additional information concerning [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 157-1300

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

\* Concerning Lincoln Web Offset Company

On 6/23/67. [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] advised SA DANIEL F. O'CONNOR that he had no record of the names of the principals of the Lincoln Web Offset Co., which is located at 200 Finn Court, Farmingdale, NY. but

On 6/23/67. [redacted] (Conceal) [redacted]

A review of NY files reflected no information concerning [redacted] or Lincoln Web Offset Company. U

b6  
b7C

On 7/11/67. [redacted] (Conceal) [redacted]

[redacted] advised SA [redacted]

A review of NY files contained no information concerning [redacted] however, he is possibly identical to [redacted] who is mentioned on numerous occasions in re report. U

[redacted] is probably identical to NY file 100-80523; Bufile 100-371447, who is neither on the Security Index or Reserve Index of the NYO. The following is a characterization of [redacted] U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



NY 157-1300

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

On 6/30/50, LOUIS F. BUDENZ (conceal per request), who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised during 1952, that the editorial and reportorial staff of the "Daily Compass" was composed in the majority of Communists and Communist sympathizers. This source further advised that the rewrite men gave news a pro-Soviet slant, and there was a constant trading of news with the "Daily Worker".

b7D

The "Daily Worker" was an east coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on 1/13/58.

On 6/27/67, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York, caused to be checked by IC [REDACTED] reflected no record for Lincoln Web Offset Company.)

b6  
b7C

On 6/27/67, records of CSNY 1, caused to be checked by SA WILLIAM F. MARTIN, reflected no record of Lincoln Web Offset Company. )

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX1.LOUIS M. RABINOWITZ FOUNDATION,  
INCORPORATED

Records of the Secretary of State, Corporation Department, State of Delaware, as made available on March 30, 1961, reflect that a Certificate of Incorporation was filed on August 24, 1944, for the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, and the nature of business was - to undertake, promote, develop and carry on religious, charitable, scientific, literary and/or educational work. VICTOR RABINOWITZ was recorded as President of this foundation.

A source advised on April 3, 1967, that VICTOR RABINOWITZ is President of the foundation, and the address of the foundation is 30 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York.

In early 1962, a second source advised that GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) and others in the CP, USA leadership, complained about [redacted] because of information indicating that he had been donating money to and was listening to the "left faction" which included a number of people who were expelled from the CP, USA.

b6  
b7C

On April 2, 1965, a third source advised that the foundation forwarded \$6,000.00 to HERBERT APTHEKER to further the work of APTHEKER in preparing a bibliography of the public writings of Doctor W.E.B. DU BOIS.

A fourth source advised that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA held in December, 1959.

It is publicly known that W.E.B. DU BOIS died on August 28, 1963. At that time he had been residing in Ghana, having become a citizen of that country. He was the guest of President KWAME NKRUMAH, and he had become Director of the Encyclopedia Africana, which was sponsored by the Government of Ghana. In the Fall of 1961, at the age of 93, he joined the CP.

SAC, Baltimore

8/4/67.

Director, FBI (100-445393)

1 - Mr. B.A. Wells

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C

Referral/Consult

1 - San Francisco (157-459)

FX-113 / 100

445393 58

BAW:jes  
(5)

18 AUG 7 1967

NOTE:

MAILED 11

AUG 4 1967

COMM-FBI

CLASS.  
REASON-FCIM  
DATE OF REVIEW

1-2-4-8  
8/4/67

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

FBI

Date: 7/31/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)(100-3-104-47)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) - P  
(100-42399) - PRE: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - CCP, USA - COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
IS - C

Re New York airtel to Bureau, 7/21/67, captioned  
"ALY ISMAIL EMBABY, aka; IS - UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC," and New  
York teletype 7/26/67, captioned "RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.;  
IS - C."

Reairtel reported that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] for interview of [REDACTED]

Reteletype reported that one [REDACTED] (LNU) of Ramparts Magazine  
had contacted [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (LNU) may be [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was reported to have received [REDACTED]

- 5 - Bureau (AM-RM)  
2 - New York (AM-RM)  
    (1 - 157-1300)  
    (1 - 100-129802)  
2 - San Francisco (1 - 157-459)  
    (1 - 100-42399)

EJO/jr  
(9)

REC-1

100-445393-59

AUG 8 1967

62 AUG 10 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE: 7/18/80 BY: [REDACTED]

SF 157-459  
SF 100-42399  
EJO/jr

The July, 1967, issue of Ramparts contained an editorial and several articles on the Arab-Israeli dispute which follow the political line of criticizing U. S. imperialist oil interests in the Middle East while showing a degree of favoritism for the Arab position over that of Israel.

Ramparts emphasis in treating this complex problem on which many of its subscribers and donors have emotional and deep nationalistic sympathies for Israel, may prove to be a mistake. It seems curious that they should feature such a factional problem and follow a Soviet line rather than give it little or no coverage.

Referral/Consult

The reason for the requested visa to Israel for [redacted] may have been initiated by [redacted] so he could get a balanced view of the dispute or it may have been initiated by some of the Ramparts staff and directors to counter-balance [redacted] influence.

b6  
b7c

There are insufficient known facts and <sup>too</sup> many complex problems at this time to make a recommendation under the Counterintelligence Program. Any news article on SCHEER's visit to Cairo and his pro-Arab affiliations may only publicize and create interest in subsequent issues of this magazine. It appears to be a situation which warrants close analysis for a proper future opportunity.

The Bureau and New York are requested to study the current (July) and future issues of Ramparts on this question and make recommendations.

*No counterintelligence indicated*  
*DR*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 8/16/67

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24425)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C

Re Bureau letter to Baltimore, 8/4/67.

Referral/Consult

2 - Bureau (REGIS. MAIL)  
2 - San Francisco (157-459) (REGIS. AIR MAIL)  
2 - Baltimore  
PDE:rms  
(6)

REC-48

100 445393 6E

11/16/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 BSA/hic  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 11/16/89

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE



5010-108

54 AUG 21 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

100 44 5393

6:09 PM 8-14-67 FBC

PRIORITY

TO THE PRESIDENT 01

TO SECRETARY OF STATE 012

VIA TELETYPE  
62 AUG 14 1967  
ENCIPHERED

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

02

~~Classified by 5668 SCL/...~~

~~Mandating 8-13-91  
# NL 91-332~~

~~SECRET~~ - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

[ TASS NEWS AGENCY, INTERNAL SECURITY - RUSSIA ]

Referral/Consult

*NLU*

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE  
INFORMATION IN THE PAST MADE AVAILABLE THE FOLLOWING ON  
AUGUST FOURTEEN ONE NINE SIX SEVEN,

ORIGINAL FILED IN

[Redacted]

GP-1

~~Classified by 2650 YH  
Date of Declassification 2,3  
4-13-78~~

~~CLASS. & EXT. BY SP114SK/...~~  
~~REASON-FCIM 1, 1.4.2~~  
~~DATE OF REVIEW 8/4/27~~

(S)

AUG 25 1967

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Referral/Consult

END AND HOLDDE WHAND ACK UR 001



NNNN

~~SECRET~~



DATE: 02-14-2011

FBI INFO.

CLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

REASON: 1.4 (C)

DECLASSIFY ON: 02-14-2036

FBI

Date: 8/14/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-183386)

FROM: SAC, WFO (100-17076) (P\*)

TASS NEWS AGENCY  
IS - R  
(OO:NY)

(XV)

Classified by: 10-18-89 SP7 MAC/ef

Declassify on: OADR 79-143

Referral/Consult

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies and for New York one copy of LHM, dated and captioned as above.

The LHM is classified "~~Secret~~ - No Foreign Dissemination" since it sets forth information from a highly sensitive source of continuing value.

(S)

The first confidential source in LHM is [redacted] (S)

b1

ORIGINAL FILED IN

WFO airtels and LHMs, 2/11/66 and 2/15/66, captioned [redacted] aka; ESPIONAGE - X" (OO:CE), Bufile 65-70108, WFO file 65-9554, set forth information concerning the press conference of [redacted] on 2/10/66. 100-4457-62

CLOSURE

EX-115

REC-40

NOT RECORDED

141 AUG 21 1967

3 - Bureau (Enc. 8)

1 - New York (100-60713) (Info) (Enc. 1) (RM)

1 - WFO

JTF:smm  
(5)

AIRTEL

Classified

Exempt from GDS, Category 23

Date of Declassification Indefinite

Approved: 4-13-78

Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~

M

Per

b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~

Several references to "Ramparts" are noted in WFO files. A news clipping from "The Worker," dated 11/30/65, page 5, describes "Ramparts" as a radical Catholic magazine. A clipping from same publication, dated 5/7/67, page 9, indicates "Ramparts" is a monthly magazine published in San Francisco, California.

Referral/Consult

(U)

X

It was stated in these reports that the [redacted]

b6  
b7C

According to SAC, BOSTON letter to SAC NEW YORK dated 7/12/56. under caption [redacted] aka [redacted] SM-C." on 6/25/56, [redacted] advised Bureau agents that at that time [redacted]

~~SECRET~~

WFO 100-17076

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

It is not known by WFO if [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] is identical with [REDACTED]  
described above, who was born on [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

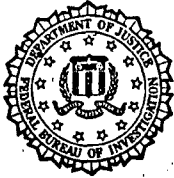
Date 8/15/67

Information in the  
attached furnished by teletype to  
the President, Secretary of State,  
and Director, Central Intelligence  
Agency on August 14, 1967.

It has also been made  
available to the Attorney General,  
U. S. Information Agency, and  
Peace Corps.

ECP:eco

*[Handwritten signature]*



DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF  
ON 02-09-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~SECRET~~

Washington, D. C.  
August 14, 1967

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

(U) [ TASS NEWS AGENCY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - R ] (C)

The Tass News Agency is an official Soviet Government news-gathering organization with headquarters in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and branches throughout the world.

On August 14, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a Marc Stone, "Ramparts" magazine, contacted the office of Tass News Agency, Washington, D. C. (WDC), on that date. Stone informed a representative of Tass News Agency that "Ramparts" magazine was holding a press conference on August 15, 1967, at 11:00 a.m., in the Cabinet Room of the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel, WDC, with a group of "returned" former Peace Corps men who represent a larger group of about 800 individuals who have signed a "position paper" calling for United States withdrawal from Vietnam. According to the source, the Tass News Agency will have representatives at this press conference. (S)

(U) On February 10, 1966, a second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on February 3, 1966, Marc Stone, identified as a public relations representative for "Ramparts" magazine, 1182 Chestnut Street, Menlo Park, California, booked a conference room at the Mayflower Hotel for a press conference scheduled for 10:00 a.m., February 10, 1966. Donald Duncan, a Master Sergeant, who left the United States Army in September, 1965, was scheduled to be the principal speaker at the press conference in connection with a feature story captioned, "The Whole Thing Was A Lie!," appearing in the February, 1966, issue of "Ramparts."

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~SECRET~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP7 JSK/Phy  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 8/14/87

Classified by 2650 Jhr  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2,3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite 4-13-78

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~  
**TASS NEWS AGENCY**

(U)

Copies of two press releases relating to the conference on February 10, 1966, under the sponsorship of "Ramparts," 1182 Chestnut Street, Menlo Park, California, listed "Marc Stone, Public Relations, 120 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) Plaza 5-5180."

The above press releases reported Sergeant Duncan's criticism of United States activities in Vietnam and the views of "Ramparts" editors concerning conditions in Oakland, California, which they considered could contribute to a "Watts-Type Riot."

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 8/17/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)  
  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)(P)  
  
SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
OO: San Francisco

*Wash*  
*CD. Brennan*  
*K. [unclear]*

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of FD 302, dated 8/14/67; and two copies for each division concerned with the sources of deposits to the "Ramparts Magazine" (RM) bank account in San Francisco.

The purpose of checking bank deposits on captioned organization is to determine the source of extraneous funds. This publication has operated with large and continuous deficits so that the source of its subsidy should be identified.

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 3)(RM)
  - 2 - New York (157-1300)(Encl. 2)(RM)
  - 2 - Denver (100-9382)(Encl. 2)(RM)
  - 2 - New Haven (97-159)(Encl. 2)(RM)
  - 2 - Philadelphia (Encl. 2)(RM)
  - 2 - Washington Field Office (Encl. 2)(RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco
- EJO:cmc  
(15)

*(100-445393)*  
*932*  
*REC-47 100 44,5393 63*

EX-115  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [unclear]

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge  
55 AUG 20 1967

SF 157-459  
EJO:cmc

LEADS:

DENVER:

Reference Denver letter to San Francisco, 8/2/67, which reported subscription circulation figures obtained from the Neodata Service, Inc., Boulder, Colo., and the monthly deposits by this company to the Ramparts account at the Boulder National Bank. Denver is requested to continue to report this information on a monthly basis.

Denver's attention is directed to [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Denver is requested to make inquiries only through established and secure bank sources re check transactions of "Ramparts" in the Denver Division. If all transfers reflect normal business transactions, no further investigation is requested. Inquiry should be limited to locating any funds extraneous to the normal business operation.

NEW HAVEN:

Reference report of SA [REDACTED] dated 6/16/67, at New Haven, and captioned "Ramparts Magazine".

b6  
b7C  
b7D



SF 157-459  
EJO:cmc

Report any recent information on possibility of  
"Ramparts" moving its operation to the East Coast.

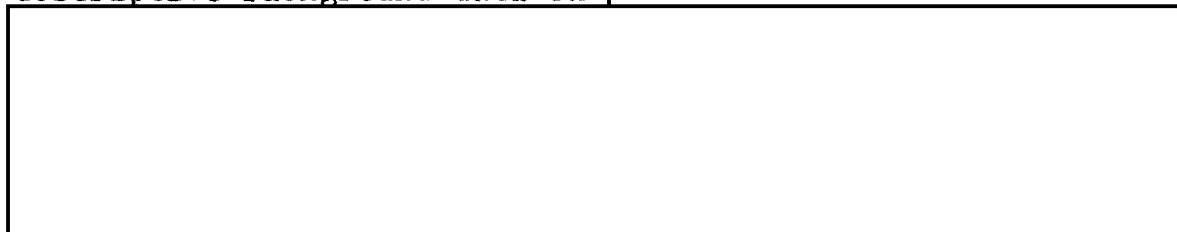
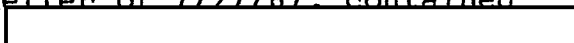
NEW YORK:




b7D



Referenced New York letter of 7/27/67, contained  
descriptive background data on



b6  
b7C  
b7D

 reported on 12/23/66, that RM held a  
peace conference at the World Church Center, 777 UN Plaza,

SF 157-459  
EJO:cmc

New York City, on 12/22/66, for the purpose of publicizing an article in the January, 1967, issue of "Ramparts" entitled, "Children of Vietnam". Distributed at this peace conference was a copy of a letter from the editor of "Ramparts" to [redacted] [redacted] which suggested that the condition of the wounded children in Vietnam be investigated by the UN Children's Fund. (Located Page 71-74 of report SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 6/16/67, at San Francisco, captioned "Ramparts".)

b6  
b7C

New York is requested to search indices on [redacted] [redacted] as it is possible that he was the source for material for "Ramparts" article on "Children of Vietnam", [redacted]  
[redacted]

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE:

Check indices on [redacted] see information on [redacted] under above lead for New York.

PHILADELPHIA:

b7D

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/15/67[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] (protect  
identity), reviewed [redacted]b6  
b7C  
b7D

b7D

**COPIES DESTROYED****343 FEB 16 1971**On 8/14/67 at San Francisco, California File # SF 157-459by SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN - rv Date dictated 8/14/67

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

[redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. *BN*

DATE 8/16/67

FROM : S. J. Papich *JP*

SUBJECT : RAMPARTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*C. D. Brennan*

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Referral/Consult

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

## ACTION:

The above information is being directed to the attention of the Internal Security Section.

- 1 - C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

SJP:rab  
(4) *raiv*

*Harrell*

*R*

*0-1's to NH, PH,  
WFO NY, AN for  
2-1-67 9-28-67  
WJP:raiv*

EX-115

CLASS. & EXT. BY *SPI/USK/huc*  
REASON-FCIM II 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW *8/18/80*

REC-47 *5-mp*  
100-445393-64

3 AUG 22 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

55 AUG 21 1967

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-09-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 8/23/67 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24425)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C

Re Baltimore letter, 8/16/67.

Referral/Consult

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)  
1 - Baltimore  
MEG:rlj  
(3)

1/1/80  
CLASS. & EXT BY SP1 YSK/hc  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 8/23/87

14 AUG 24 1967

C.C. to SF 9-8-67

by O-7.

IFM:RAK

C.C. 932 9-2-67



5 SEP 75 1967

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE BOSTON	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 8/24/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 8/14 - 21/67
TITLE OF CASE RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.		REPORT MADE BY JOHN F. NOONAN	TYPED BY maf
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP(S) OF <b>CLASS</b> DATE <u>10-11-1980</u>		CHARACTER OF CASE  IS-C REGISTRATION ACT	

REFERENCE Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 6/16/67 at San Francisco.

- RUC -

## INFORMANTS

Identity	Location
(U) BS T-1 is [redacted]	66-1436
BS T-2 is [redacted]	100-36007-1
(U) BS T-3 is [redacted]	100-36007-1
BS T-4 is [redacted]	[redacted]
PSI	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Case has been: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending processing over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

APPROVED *[Signature]* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE DATE OF REVIEW *7/18/10* DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:  
 3 - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)  
 3 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)  
 1 - Boston (100-37684)

100-445393-66 REC 51  
EX 104  
12 AUG 28 1967

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Agency	ACSI, OSI, ONI, RAB, CISO
Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	9-8-67
How Fwd.	RIS

Notations

CONFIDENTIAL  
INT. SEC

66 SEP 12 1967

BS 100-37684

INFORMANTS CONTINUED

	<u>Identity</u>	<u>Location</u>
(U)	BS T-5 is [REDACTED]	100-35629-75
(U)	[REDACTED]	
	BS T-6 is [REDACTED]	100-35629-71
	[REDACTED]	
	by request)	
	BS T-7 is [REDACTED]	100-35629-79

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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b7C  
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

The pretext mentioned as being used to determine the nature of CPC was a telephone call to [REDACTED] on 5/14/61 by SA JAMES T. SULLIVAN in the guise of an individual interested in contributing to CPC.

b6  
b7C

(U) This report is being classified confidential since the information it contains furnished by [BS T-1 through BS T-7] could logically result in identification of these informants, thus jeopardizing their future activities.

Records of the Division of Corporations, State House, Boston, Mass., were reviewed by IC [REDACTED]

b7D

(U) Information furnished by [BS T-5] cannot be made public except through the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

[REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

## Copy to:

Report of: JOHN F. NOONAN  
Date: 8/24/67

Office: Boston, Massachusetts

Field Office File #: 100-37684

Bureau File #: 100-445393

Title: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

Synopsis: Available information concerning the background  
and activities of [redacted] and  
[redacted] also known as [redacted]  
[redacted] set  
out.

b6  
b7C

- RUC 7213

## Details:

I. [redacted]

On May 12, 1961, [redacted]

[redacted] Harvard University Graduate School of  
Arts and Sciences, Cambridge, Massachusetts, advised that  
her records identified [redacted] as having been  
born [redacted] His home  
address was listed as [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

7/18/86  
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 gsk/line  
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 8/24/87



BS 100-37684

On May 15, 1961, [redacted]  
[redacted] Harvard University, advised that [redacted]

[redacted] showed his marital status as single  
and was at that time residing at [redacted]

The 1966-67 Harvard University Directory of Officers  
and Students lists [redacted]

b6  
b7C

On August 4, 1967, the records of the Credit Bureau  
of Greater Boston, Inc., 6 St. James Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts,  
were checked by personnel of that bureau and no record was found  
for [redacted]

On August 15, 1967, the records of the Office of the  
Massachusetts Commissioner of Probation, Suffolk County Court-  
house, Boston, Massachusetts, a central repository for criminal  
and traffic conviction records in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,  
were checked by personnel of that office and a record was found  
for [redacted] born [redacted] These records  
identify his parents as [redacted] Addresses are  
shown as [redacted]

The following offenses were listed:

Date	Offense	Disposition
------	---------	-------------

[redacted]		
------------	--	--

On May 11, 1961, BS T-2 advised that [redacted]  
[redacted] was active  
in the formative stages of the Cuban Protest Committee (CPC).

(U) [BS T-2 advised on May 11, 1961, that the CPC stemmed initially from a protest meeting held at Emerson Hall, Harvard University, April 26, 1961, and that H. STUART HUGHES, Professor of History, Harvard University, was the initiator of the group and was responsible for the circulation of a letter to Harvard faculty members asking money for the CPC.]

By means of a pretext, it was determined on May 4, 1961, that according to H. STUART HUGHES, the CPC had been formed by a group of individuals in Cambridge, graduate school and junior Harvard faculty members, who were interested in protesting American military intervention in Cuba; that the CPC had no reason for existing other than to submit its protest and is not connected with any other organization; that the individuals interested in it are primarily and basically those working in the educational field. It was also determined that inasmuch as the primary purpose for organizing the CPC was to obtain money for the placing of an advertisement in the "New York Times," there would be little or no further activity by the CPC.

The "Jerusalem Post," an Israeli newspaper, in its edition of July 29, 1962, carried an article captioned, "Harvard Lecturer Charges United States Soblen Court Unfair." This article, datelined at Tel Aviv, in part, read, "Allegations that the trial of Dr. Robert Soblen by a Federal Court in the United States last September was a 'miscarriage of justice' were made here yesterday by Mr. Martin Peretz, a Teaching Fellow in Government at Harvard University."

"Mr. Peretz made this charge in an interview with the 'Jerusalem Post' at the Sheraton Hotel last night. He said he was prompted to do some personal research into the court archives of the case following the renewed spate of publicity given to the case recently."

The "Jerusalem Post," in its July 30, 1962 edition, published a letter captioned, "FBI Mislead Soblen Judge," dated July 29, 1962, at Tel Aviv and signed "Martin Peretz, Teaching Fellow in Government, Harvard University." This letter referred to the interview of Peretz published on July 29, 1962, and specifically to one Hans Hirschfeld and the alleged withholding of information concerning Hirschfeld at the Soblen trial.

The "Record American," a daily Boston newspaper, in its September 12, 1962 edition, carried an article "Death 'Commutes' Soblen's Life Term." This article, in part, read, "Runaway Soviet spy Dr. Robert A. Soblen died yesterday in convulsions, five days after lapsing into a coma from a self-administered overdose of barbiturates, in an ambulance taking him to London Airport for deportation to the United States."

The February 9, 1962 issue of the "Cornell Daily Sun," a daily student newspaper published at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, contained an announcement concerning a peace march at Washington, D. C. from February 16 to 18, 1962. This item states that student peace groups throughout the nation will participate and the march is being coordinated by "Turn Toward Peace," a group composed of persons representing organizations devoted to a peaceful solution of the Cold War. Cornell SANE is listed as the sponsoring group at Cornell.

(U) [On February 12, 1962, BS T-3] advised that a meeting was held at Willard Straight Hall, Cornell Campus, Friday afternoon, February 9, 1962, by the Cornell Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) for the purpose of discussing this Washington peace march, which was identified by the name "Student Action for a Turn Toward Peace, Washington Project, February 16-17, 1962." This meeting consisted of a speech by an individual who identified himself as Martin Peretz, a graduate student at Harvard University and faculty advisor of Young Americans for Freedom at Harvard. He stated that he was making a tour of several campuses for the purpose of discussing this Washington peace march. He discussed the peace issue at quite some length and reviewed the movement's policy statement, which urges the United States not to resume atmospheric testing and not to extend nuclear arms to nations which do not already have them.

BS 100-37684

PERETZ gave detailed instructions as to the manner of dress and personal deportment while in Washington. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U) [On May 26, 1967, BS T-4] advised that the steering committee of an organization known as "Vietnam Summer" met at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on May 24, 1967. BS T-4 identified one of the members of the steering committee as [redacted]

b6  
b7C

A characterization of "Vietnam Summer" is contained in the appendix.

(U) [On June 8, 1967, BS T-4] advised that the steering committee of "Vietnam Summer" met at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on June 4, 1967. Over twenty persons were present and among those signing the census sheet showing their presence was [redacted]

B. II. [redacted] also known as [redacted]

[redacted] Connecticut State Bureau of Vital Statistics, 79 Elm Street, Hartford, Connecticut, advised on May 4, 1967, that she was unable to locate a record of a birth for [redacted] born [redacted]

[redacted] stated that the father was born in [redacted] and the mother in [redacted]. The parents were married [redacted] and had one other child, a girl, named [redacted]

Miss [redacted] United States District Court, Hartford, Connecticut, advised on May 4, 1967, that her files do not reflect any information to show the parents of [redacted] have been naturalized.

[redacted] Records and Administration, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), Hartford, advised on May 5, 1967, that her files contain no information concerning [redacted]

[redacted] Superior Court, Washington Street, Hartford, advised on May 8, 1967, that his files contain no information reflecting that [redacted] or his parents have made any attempt to change their names through the courts in this area.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BS 100-37684 (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
On January 19, 1967, BS T-5 advised that when [redacted] first came to Hartford, Connecticut, he used the name [redacted]

b6  
b7C

(U) [redacted] BS T-5 stated that [redacted] had withdrawn a large sum of money from the bank and made a loan to Ramparts Magazine in California and is supposed to influence the policy of this magazine.

(U) [redacted] BS T-5 stated that a typical deal of [redacted] is the following example:

In June, 1966, [redacted]

[redacted] BS T-5 stated that he did not know the source of [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

(U) On March 9, 1967, BS T-5 advised that [redacted]

(U) [redacted] BS T-5 stated that [redacted]

[redacted] currently resides at [redacted]

[redacted] is known to operate [redacted]

On April 28, 1967, records of the Division of Corporations, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, were reviewed. These records showed that DICK RUSSELL, Pontiac, Inc., was incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts as an automobile sales and service business on December 31, 1964. It is located at 870 Commonwealth Avenue, Brookline, Massachusetts.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BS 100-37684

On October 29, 1965, the corporation's name was changed to Pontiac Village, Inc. Its officers were as follows:

President and Treasurer RICHARD A. RUSSELL

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Vice President

JACK GIBBONS

[REDACTED]

Clerk

LOUIS SNYDER

[REDACTED]

The following are listed as directors of the corporation:

BS T-6, RICHARD A. RUSSELL

[REDACTED]

ELEANOR RUSSELL

[REDACTED]

JACK GIBBONS

[REDACTED]

An abstract of the certificate of condition filed by the corporation is attached as an appendix to this report.

On May 8, 1967, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Inc., 6 St. James Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, were checked by personnel of that bureau and a record was found for [REDACTED] wife [REDACTED] residing at [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] His employment was shown as [REDACTED]. The only information on the credit record is that an inquiry was made by the State Street Bank and Trust Company in April, 1966. [REDACTED] credit rating is shown as satisfactory.

(U) [ ] BS T-6 advised on April 26, 1967, that he has heard rumors that Pontiac Village was in such bad shape financially that General Motors Acceptance Corporation (GMAC) had stepped in and taken over its management without giving this fact any publicity.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BS 100-37684

(U) ~~BS T-6~~ stated that Pontiac Village and Northeast Leasing Corporation, which is a subsidiary of Pontiac Village and located at the same address, have both had a poor reputation in the automobile trade, being known as sharp dealers and probably untrustworthy to deal with.

(U) ~~BS T-6~~ stated that [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7c

and the entire managerial staff of Pontiac Village. BS T-6 is not aware of the reason for the dismissals but heard that the entire staff were opposed to some phases of the operation of Pontiac Village.

He believes [redacted] at the time when Northeast Leasing Corporation leased a 1967 green four-door Pontiac sedan, Executive Model, to MARTIN LUTHER KING in January, 1967. It is noted that this car is registered in Georgia and has registration plate [redacted] BS T-6 believes that [redacted] might have actually handled the transaction and should certainly know of it.

(U) On May 3, 1967, BS T-6 advised that he had learned that [redacted] was currently connected with City Ford, Plainfield, New Jersey.

(U) On April 27, 1967, BS T-7 advised that he is not aware of any Communist Party (CP) activity on the part of [redacted] also known as [redacted] in the greater Boston area.

On May 9, 1967, [redacted] who was a member of the CPUSA, [redacted]  
[redacted]

[redacted] a former CP member of the [redacted] who regularly furnished information [redacted] both advised that they knew of no CP activity on the part of [redacted]

# The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

KEVIN H. WHITE  
Secretary of the Commonwealth

## ABSTRACT OF CERTIFICATE OF CONDITION

Name of Corporation, ..... Ponnas Village Inc. .....  
Kind of Business, .....  
Location, .....  
Incorporated under the laws of .....  
When Certificate was filed, .....  
Date of Annual Meeting, .....  
Authorized and issued capital stock of each class on date fixed in by-laws for annual meeting:—

CLASSES OF STOCK	*Par Value Per Share	TOTAL AUTHORIZED By Organization or Amendments		TOTAL ISSUED AND OUTSTANDING (Including any issued stock held as treasury stock)	
		No. of Shares	*Total Par Value	No. of Shares	Amount Then Paid Thereon
Preferred . . . . .			\$		\$
Common . . . . .					

\*If stock is without par value, state "no par"

Date of Statement:..... May 15, 1966 .....

### ASSETS

Cash . . . . .	\$	9,779	92
Accounts receivable, customers . . . . .		3,051	952 07
Accounts receivable, others . . . . .		3,500	905 81
Notes receivable, customers . . . . .			
Notes receivable, others . . . . .			
Merchandise . . . . .		1,300,486	47
Supplies . . . . .			
Securities (except those issued by this corporation) . . . . .			
Real Estate . . . . .			
Machinery . . . . .		30,249	01
Motor Vehicles and Trailers . . . . .		3,168	48
Equipment and Tools . . . . .			
Furniture and Fixtures . . . . .		14,593	40
<u>Leasehold improvements</u> . . . . .		35,773	62
Prepaid insurance, interest, taxes . . . . .		6,495	62
Patent rights, trademarks, copyrights . . . . .			
Good Will . . . . .			
Treasury stock . . . . .			
<u>Deposits</u> . . . . .		11,000	00
<u>Investment in wholly owned subsidiary</u> . . . . .		5,000	00
Profit and loss (deficit) . . . . .			
TOTAL . . . . .	\$	2,107,404	36

### LIABILITIES

Accounts payable . . . . .	\$	227,181	15
Notes and acceptances payable . . . . .		1,352,108	22
<u>Accrued taxes, expenses</u> . . . . .		243,261	89
Mortgages {Specify kind of property mortgaged} . . . . .			
Bonds . . . . .		13,400	00
Reserves (classify below): Note: Reserves for depreciation or reduction of assets, if not deducted from assets, shall be appropriately described to identify the assets to which they apply.			
Capital stock with par value . . . . .		232,710	75
Capital stock without par value No of shares without par value {			
Surplus . . . . .		31,766	40
TOTAL . . . . .	\$	2,107,404	36

- a. Indicate on what basis any securities owned are stated above ("cost", "market", etc.).....  
b. Did the corporation have any contingent liabilities not reported above?.....



BS 100-37684

1.

APPENDIX

"VIETNAM SUMMER"

A pamphlet published by "Vietnam Summer," entitled, "Vietnam Summer 1967, Project Profiles," states, "Vietnam Summer is a nationwide effort to reach millions of citizens concerned about the war who remain isolated from each other and have not made themselves heard. Working to generate intensive activity in local communities across the country, Vietnam Summer aims at making anti-war sentiment more politically effective. This undertaking rests strongly on community organizing."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Boston, Massachusetts

August 24, 1967

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

Title            RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character        IS - C  
                  REGISTRATION ACT

Reference        Report of SA JOHN F. NOONAN,  
                  dated and captioned as above

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

5 49

GERASSI INTERVIEW

HAVANA IN SPANISH TO THE AMERICAS 0030 GMT 17 AUGUST 1967--E

INTERVIEW WITH RAMPARTS MAGAZINE LASO CONFERENCE REPRESENTATIVE  
(GERASSI--RECORDED)

(TEXT) JOHN GERASSI REPRESENTED THE U.S. MAGAZINE RAMPARTS AT  
THE LASO CONFERENCE IN HAVANA AND COVERED THE ENTIRE EVENT. A  
FEW HOURS BEFORE HE LEFT OUR COUNTRY TO RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES,  
HE HAD THE FOLLOWING CONVERSATION WITH HIM:

QUESTION: JOHN, WHAT IMPRESSIONS CAN YOU GIVE US FROM YOUR  
STAY IN CUBA?

GERASSI: WELL, I ARRIVED HERE IN JUNE--26 JUNE--(CORRECTS HIMSELF)  
23 JUNE--SO I WAS HERE BEFORE ALL THE NEWSPAPERMEN AND EVERYONE  
ARRIVED, AND I WAS ABLE TO TOUR FOUR PROVINCES. THEN I WENT TO  
ENGLAND FOR THE LIBERATION DIALECTS--THE CONGRESS--AND I RETURNED  
HERE IN TIME TO GO TO SANTIAGO. FROM SANTIAGO, AFTER THE 26TH,  
I RETURNED HERE (WORDS INDISTINCT). SO I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY  
TO SEE A BIT OF CUBA--BESIDES HAVANA--AND OF THE CHANGES THAT  
THERE HAVE BEEN SINCE '64 WHEN I WAS HERE BEFORE. WELL, IT WAS ALL  
VERY NICE FOR ME. IT WAS A VERY INTERESTING EXPERIENCE--BESIDES  
IT WAS VERY GAY. THE CHANGES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE ARE CHANGES  
THAT I CONSIDER VERY IMPORTANT AND VERY POSITIVE--ESPECIALLY  
THE CHANGE CONCERNING BUREAUCRATIC AFFAIRS, FOR EXAMPLE. IN  
'64 I WAS A LITTLE AFRAID THAT THE BUREAUCRACY HERE WAS GOING TO  
GROW STRONGLY. I SAW THAT IT WAS BEGINNING TO MAKE THE SAME  
MISTAKES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE EUROPEAN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.  
NOW THERE IS A GREAT CHANGE. EVERYONE IS AWARE OF THE PROBLEMS  
OF BUREAUCRATIZATION. THIS, FOR ME, IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT  
ASPECTS OF THE CHANGE THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE DURING THESE THREE YEARS.

QUESTION: JOHN, WE KNOW THAT YOU HAVE COVERED THE ENTIRE LASO  
CONFERENCE AND ALSO A SERIES OF HAPPENINGS THAT HAVE ARISEN CONNECTED  
WITH THIS EVENT FOR THE MAGAZINE. WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL  
US IF YOU HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FUNCTION AS A REPORTER IN CUBA WITH  
COMPLETE FREEDOM, DURING ALL THIS TRAVEL AND DURING ALL THE  
COVERAGE OF THIS GREAT EVENT IN HAVANA.

GERASSI: YES, OF COURSE--WITH COMPLETE FREEDOM. I COULD SEE  
THE PEOPLE I WANTED--ALMOST EVERYONE I WANTED TO SEE, EXCEPT 3 AUG 28 1967  
MYSELF, FINALLY, A GROUP OF REPORTERS--I THINK THERE WERE  
ABOUT SEVEN OR EIGHT OF US--STAYED THERE IN THE PALACE AFTER THE PARTY  
AND WE HAD AN INTERVIEW WITH FIDEL--SOME VERY VERY INTERESTING  
THINGS--THERE, SPEAKING SERIOUSLY, NOT ONLY ABOUT LATIN AMERICA  
BUT ALSO ABOUT U.S. PROBLEMS.

57 SEP 5 1967

File 5393

5- Jones



SO I AM LEAVING APPILY. BESIDES, WHEN I MADE MY TOUR--FOR  
EXAMPLE WHEN I WENT ONE DAY TO SAN ANDRES, IN JUNE--I WANTED TO  
SEE THE PEASANTS WHO HAVE THEIR OWN LAND, TO TALK WITH THEM FRANKLY--  
SO I WENT THERE AND ARRIVED THERE, WITH NO OFFICIAL OR TRANSLATOR  
OR ANYTHING., AND THE PEOPLE TALKED TO ME COMPLETELY OPENLY AND  
EVERYTHING.

IT WAS THE SAME HERE IN HAVANA. FOR TWO DAYS I WANDERED  
THROUGH OLD HAVANA, AND I STOOD IN LINES, TALKING TO PEOPLE.  
I WENT LOOKING FOR CARLOS PUEBLA BY MYSELF--I HAVE KNOWN HIM  
FOR A LONG TIME--AND--NO, I HAVE HAD ALMOST MORE FREEDOM THAN  
IN THE COUNTRIES THAT PURPOSLY PRESENT ONE KIND OF FREEDOM SO  
THAT PEOPLE WILL THINK THERE IS TOTAL FREEDOM, BUT THAT  
ACTUALLY CORRELATE THINGS SO THAT THERE WILL BE A LINE--SO THAT  
EVERYONE WILL FOLLOW THE SAME LINE.

HERE, ON THE OTHER HAND, I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO TALK TO PEOPLE WHO  
HELD DIFFERENT VIEWS AND WHO SPOKE THESE DIFFERENCES OPENLY,  
WITH NO PROBLEMS. FOR EXAMPLE, A VERY INTERESTING INTERVIEW WITH  
CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ IN WHICH SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF  
DISTRIBUTION AND OF PUBLIC CONSUMPTION CAME UP, AND HE ANSWERED  
ME FRANKLY, TALKING FREELY ABOUT THE PROBLEMS AND OF THE MISTAKES,  
AND ABOUT THE THINGS THAT HAPPEN--YOU KNOW.

ALL THIS REINFORCES THE IDEA I HAVE THAT THIS IS A TRULY  
REVOLUTIONARY COUNTRY--IN THE SENSE THAT THE REVOLUTION HAS NOT  
STOPPED. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS MORE REVOLUTIONARY TODAY THAN  
IN '64. THIS FOR ME IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING.

QUESTION: AND THE FACT, JOHN, THAT YOU SPEAK RATHER CORRECT  
SPANISH IS DIRECT EVIDENCE THAT YOU CAN SPEAK TO ALL THE PEOPLE  
PERSONALLY, THAT YOU CAN GET A DIRECT IMPRESSION--NOT AN IMPRESSION  
THROUGH INTERPRETERS. THAT HELPS A LOT IN YOUR JOB AS REPORTER.  
WE WOULD NOW LIKE TO HAVE YOUR IMPRESSIONS ON THE  
PRESENTATION OF THE CIA AGENTS AT THAT CEREMONY BEFORE ALL THE LASO  
DELEGATES AND ON PRESIDENT DORTICOS' INTERVENTION. IN WHOSE DEBATE  
WE SAW (YOU) INTERVENE DIRECTLY IN A VERY INTERESTING WAY.

(MORE)

17 AUG 1730Z BS/BG

FBIS 50

ONLY ADD 49 (GERASSI INTERVIEW)

XXX VERY INTERESTING WAY.

(TEXT) GERASSI: WELL, FOR ME, PRESIDENT DORTICOS' INTERVENTION  
SEEMED A BIT STRANGE, BECAUSE THE PROBLEM OF WHETHER OR NOT THE AGENTS  
ARE FROM THE CIA DOES NOT EXIST FOR ME. WE AT RAMPARTS. FOR EXAMPLE--MY  
MAGAZINE--WE HAVE DONE A LOT OF WORK ON THE CIA. SO I KNOW--  
THERE IS PROOF--THAT THERE IS NOT A SINGLE CUBAN COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY  
IN MIAMI OR IN THE UNITED STATES WHO MAKES ONE MOVE WITHOUT THE  
AUTHORIZATION, OR ORDERS, FROM THE CIA.

SO WHEN I THINK "COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS" I  
IMMEDIATELY THINK CIA. I KNOW THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE.